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REMARKS

ON

ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY.



Engraved by J. B. after a portrait from an original drawing.

*John Forten D.D.
Archdeacon of London &c.*

REMARKS

2^d Edition
ON
All. Markland's

ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY.

IN THREE VOLUMES.

BY JOHN JORTIN, D. D.

ARCHDEACON OF LONDON, RECTOR OF ST DUNSTAN IN
THE EAST, AND VICAR OF KENSINGTON.

TO WHICH IS PREFIXED,

THE LIFE OF THE AUTHOR,

. Διὰ δυσφημίας ἢ ἐνφημίας.

VOL. I.

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ACCOUNT

ACCOUNT
OF
THE LIFE AND WRITINGS
OF
DR JOHN JORTIN.

JOHN JORTIN was born in the parish of St Giles in the Fields, in the County of Middlesex, October 23, 1698. His father, Renatus Jortin, was a native of Bretagne, in France; He came into England when a young man, along with his father and other friends, about the year 1685, when the Protestants fled from France on account of the revocation of the edict of Nantz. Soon after his settlement in this country, he married Martha, the daughter of the Rev. Daniel Rogers of Haversham, in Buckinghamshire.

Mr Renatus Jortin was appointed one of the gentlemen of the privy-chamber to King William, in the year 1691; and was afterwards successively secretary to Admiral Edward Russell, Sir George Rooke, and Sir Cloudesley Shovel; with the last of whom he perished,

rished, when his ship struck upon the rocks off Scilly, October 22. 1707.

After this melancholy event, Mrs Jortin removed into the neighbourhood of the Charter-house, to accommodate the education of her son, who was now nine years of age. He learned French at home, and spoke it well : At the age of fifteen he had completed his education at school, after which he perfected himself at home in writing and arithmetic.

On the 16th of May 1715, he was admitted pensioner of Jesus College in Cambridge. He early discovered his progress in classical learning, for which he was afterwards so much distinguished. At the recommendation of his tutor, Dr Thirlby, he was engaged, while yet an undergraduate, to translate some of Eustathius's notes on Homer for Mr Pope *. In January

* Mr Jortin, in his own account of this engagement, among other things, mentions that he inserted in his papers, some remarks on a passage, where he thought Mr Pope had made a mistake. " When that part of Homer (says he) " came out, in which I had been concerned, I was eager, as " it may be supposed, to see how things stood ; and much " pleased to find that he had not only used almost all my " notes, but had hardly made any alteration on the expressions. I observed also, that in a subsequent edition, he " corrected the place, to which I had made objections."

" I was in some hopes, in those days (for I was young) that " Mr Pope would make inquiry about his *coadjutor*, and take " some

January 1719, he was admitted Bachelor of Arts, and in October 1721, was elected Fellow of Jesus College: He soon after took the degree of Master of Arts. In the two following years he acted as moderator at the disputations and as taxor.

It was in the course of the year 1722 that Mr Jortin published a few Latin poems, entitled, “*Lusus Poetici* :” they were well received, and have been different times printed.

He was ordained deacon by Dr Kennet, bishop of Peterborough, Sept. 22. 1723. and received priest’s orders from Dr Green, bishop of Ely, June 24. 1724. and on the 20th of January 1727, he was presented by the Master and Fellows of Jesus College, to the vicarage of Swavesey, near Cambridge.

In the year 1728, Mr Jortin married Annè, daughter of Mr Chibnall of Newport-Pagnell, in Buckinghamshire. About three years after this, he resigned his vicarage of Swavesey, and settled in London, where he became reader and preacher at a Chapel in New-Street, belonging to the parish of St Giles in the Fields.

On

“some civil notice of him. But he did not; and I had no
“notion of obtruding myself upon him. I never saw his face.

On his removal to London he published "Four Sermons on the Truth of the Christian Religion." The substance of these he afterwards incorporated with his "Remarks on Ecclesiastical History," and other works.

In the years 1731 and 1732, Mr Jortin, in conjunction with some literary friends, published "Miscellaneous Observations upon Authors, Ancient and Modern," in a series of numbers, making together two volumes octavo. This critical work was translated into Latin, and printed at Amsterdam, and it was continued by the learned Burman and others, under the title of "*Miscellanæ observationes criticæ in auctores veteres et recentiores; ab eruditis Britannis inchoatæ, et nunc a doctis viris in Belgis et aliis regionibus continuatæ.*"

In 1734, he continued his critical disquisitions, and published "Remarks on Spencer's Poems; on Milton; and on Seneca;" which were afterwards reprinted in a collection of his writings, intitled, "Tracts, philological, critical, and miscellaneous." His criticisms on the two English poets have received the praise of Bishop Newton and Mr Warton.

Mr Jortin was, in 1737, presented by the Earl of Winchester

Winchester to the vicarage of Eastwell in Kent, worth about one hundred and twenty pounds a-year ; but finding that the air of the place did not agree with his health, he soon resigned it, and returned to London. He continued to preach at the Chapel in New-Street until he was appointed by his friend Dr Zachary Pearce, then Rector of St Martin's in the Fields, afternoon preacher at a Chapel of Ease belonging to that parish, in Oxenden Street.

In the year 1746, he published his " Discourses concerning the Truth of the Christian Religion," which included the substance of the sermons before mentioned, and have gone through several editions. The subjects of these discourses are, the prejudices of the Jews and Gentiles ; the propagation of the gospel ; the kingdom of Christ ; the fitness of the time when Christ came into the world ; the testimony of John the Baptist ; the truth, importance, and authority of the Scriptures of the New Testament ; and the gospel considered as it is grace and truth.

Dr Zachary Pearce being appointed to the see of Bangor, Mr Jortin, at Dr Pearce's request, preached the consecration sermon in the parish church of Kensington on February 21. 1747, which was afterwards published. On the recommendation of Arch-
bishop

bishop Herring, and Bishop Sherlock, he was appointed, by the Earl of Burlington, on the 26th of December, 1749, preacher of the Lecture founded by Mr Boyle ; an appointment honourable from the nature of the institution, and from the distinguished characters of the clergy who had preceded him in the discharge of the duties of it.

Instead of publishing the discourses delivered at this Lecture, as had hitherto been the custom, Mr Jortin judiciously resolved to throw the substance of them into the form of dissertation. He foresaw that, copious as the subject was, a succession of hands would exhaust it, and unavoidably occasion a repetition of the same thoughts in a diversified method and style. Such was the origin of his most celebrated work, “ Remarks on Ecclesiastical History ;” the first volume of which appeared early in the year 1751.

The same year he received from Archbishop Herring, the rectory of St Dunstan in the East, London, worth two hundred pounds a-year ; “ A favour (says “ he) valuable in itself, but made doubly so by the “ giver, by the manner, by being conferred upon one “ who had received few obligations of this kind, and
“ by

“ by settling him among those whom he had great
“ reason to love and to esteem.”

The second volume of “ Remarks on Ecclesiastical History” made its appearance in the Spring of 1752. Mr Jortin dedicated it to his patron, Archbishop Herring, in the language not of “ modern politeness, but “ of ancient simplicity.” In excuse for not giving a laboured display of the good qualities of his benefactor, he tells him, with true classic purity, that it was a custom among the ancients, *not to sacrifice to heroes till after sun-set*. That this was not a mere happy thought or bare compliment, he demonstrated after the Archbishop’s decease *.

Jortin, amidst his learned labours, used to unbend his mind; by listening to the charms of music. He was even himself a performer upon the harpsichord. But he not only considered it as an amusement and relaxation, but attended to it as a science, as appears from his elegant and ingenious “ Letter concerning the Music of the Ancients.”

But he did not suffer these inferior studies to divert him from the greater work in which he had engaged. Accordingly the third volume of his “ Remarks on Ecclesiastical History” was published in 1754.

It

* See his Life of Erasmus, Vol. I. p. 42.

It was in the year 1755, that Mr Jortin received from his patron, the Archbishop, the degree of Doctor in Divinity. In the same year, he published his "Six Dissertations on Different Subjects." They are theological, moral, and historical; and treat on the doctrines of divine assistance and human liberty; on the controversies concerning predestination and grace; on the duty of judging candidly of others, and of human nature; on the love of praise and reputation; on the history and character of Balaam; and on the state of the dead, as described by Homer and Virgil; in which last he gives scope to his talents and fondness for philology and classical learning.

Dr Jortin published the first volume of his "Life of Erasmus," in quarto, in the year 1758; and by the publication of the second volume in 1760, he completed a work, which from the subject of it, "extended (says Dr Knox) his reputation beyond the limits of his native country, and established his literary character in the remotest universities of Europe." The celebrated Le Clerc who was concerned in publishing an edition of Erasmus's works at Leyden, had drawn up his life in French, and inserted it in his *Bibliothèque Choisie*. Dr Jortin, who found Le Clerc's way of thinking and judging for the most part correspondent with his own, informs us that

that he took this Life as his ground-work. At the same time he made large additions in every part of the work, especially where Le Clerc began to grow remiss.

In the year 1762, Dr Jortin was appointed chaplain to Dr Osbaldiston, now promoted to the see of London, and was also collated by his Lordship to the prebend of Harleston, in the cathedral church of St Paul's. Within the same year the Bishop gave him the vicarage of Kensington, worth about L.300 a-year ; soon after which he quitted his house in Hatton-garden, and went to reside there. Bishop Osbaldiston gave a still farther proof, about a month before his death, of his determination to patronize our author, by appointing him Archdeacon of London in April 1764 ; and it has been generally said, that the Bishop had offered him the Rectory of St James's, Westminster ; but that he chose to reside at Kensington as a situation better adapted to his advanced age.

Our author testified his zeal for the Reformation, by contributing " Some remarks" to Dr Neve, who was employed in writing an answer to Phillips's " History of the Life of Reginald Pole," a laboured,
plausible

plausible insult both upon the civil and ecclesiastical liberties of this country, and “undertaken, (says Dr “Jortin) to recommend to us the very scum and “dregs of popery ; and to vilify and calumniate the “Reformation and the reformers, in a bigotted, dis- “ingenuous and superficial performance.”

In 1767, he re-published the three volumes of his “Remarks on Ecclesiastical History,” in two volumes, reducing not the matter, but the size of the type.

On the 27th of August, 1770, Dr Jortin was seized with a disorder in his breast and lungs. Notwithstanding all medical assistance his trouble continued to increase ; and without suffering much pain in the course of his illness, or his mental faculties being in the smallest degree impaired, he died on the 5th of September, in the 72d year of his age. The last words which he uttered, were to a female attendant who offered him some nourishment, a very short time before his departure, to whom he said, with much composure, “*No ! I have enough of every thing.*”

He left the following direction in writing for his funeral : “ Bury me in a private manner by daylight, at Kensington, in the church, or rather in the
“ new

“ new church-yard, and lay a flat stone over the
“ grave. Let the inscription be only this :

JOANNES JORTIN

MORTALIS ESSE DESIIT

Anno Salutis [MDCCLXX.]

ÆTATIS [LXXII.]

Dr Jortin left a widow (who died June 24. 1778, and was buried in the same grave) and two children, Roger Jortin, Esq. of the Exchequer Office, Lincoln's Inn, and Martha, married to the Rev. Samuel Darby, formerly Fellow of Jesus College, Cambridge, and now Rector of Whatfield, near Hadleigh, Suffolk.

It now only remains to take notice of the posthumous works of Dr Jortin. In 1771, and 1772, his Sermons and Charges were published to the extent of seven volumes. It is said that he intended them for publication. To a friend who once asked him, “ Why “ he did not publish his Sermons ? ” he said, “ They “ shall sleep, 'till I sleep.”

A continuation of his “ Remarks on Ecclesiastical History ” was published in 1773, in two additional volumes ; which make the third and fourth volumes, according to the second edition of the former part of
the

the work published in 1767, but the fourth and fifth according to the first edition.

So late as 1790, there appeared in two volumes, “Tracts, philological, critical, and miscellaneous (by Dr Jortin) consisting of pieces many before published separately, several annexed to the works of learned friends, and others, now first printed from the author’s manuscripts.” We have already noticed the greater part of those which were formerly printed. The principal additions consist of illustrations of different passages in the Old and New Testaments; and strictures on the articles, subscriptions, and tests.

TO THE
RIGHT HONOURABLE
RICHARD,
EARL OF BURLINGTON,

TRUSTEE FOR THE LECTURE

APPOINTED BY

THE HON, ROBERT BOYLE, ESQ.

THESE

R E M A R K S

ARE INSCRIBED BY

HIS LORDSHIP'S

MOST OBLIDGED,

HUMBLE SERVANT,

A. D. 1751.

JOHN JORTIN.

VOL. I.

A

P R E F A C E.

WHAT is here offered to the public is not a regular treatise, but only a collection of detached Remarks on Ecclesiastical History and ancient writers, in which the order of time is neither strictly observed, nor greatly neglected, and no anxious accuracy is bestowed upon the dates of years. This is a necessary premonition to the reader, who else would seek what he will not find.

Yet was it designed, slight and imperfect as it is; for the service of *Truth*, by one who would be glad to attend and grace *her* triumphs; as her soldier, if he has had the honour to serve successfully under her banner; or as a captive tied to her chariot wheels, if he has, though undesignedly, committed any offence against her.

Greater undertakings on these subjects are a task fit for those who are blessed with conveniences, spirits, and abilities, and a task sufficient to exercise all their talents; for Ecclesiastical History is a sort of enchanted land, where it is hard to distinguish truth from false appearances, and a maze which requires more than Ariadne's clue.

Whilst exalted geniuses discern with a kind of intuitive knowledge, they who have less penetration may be permitted now and then, where reason and religion

are not injured by it, to pause and doubt. Not that doubting is desirable and pleasant ; but it is rather better than affirming strongly upon slender proofs, or taking opinions upon trust.

And yet there are instances in ecclesiastical antiquities, of spurious authors, forged records, and frivolous reports, where hesitation at this time of day would be improper, and where a man is not to remain for ever in suspense, and to hear what every patron has to say, who starts up, and pleads the exploded cause of his ragged clients.

The intention of this work is to produce such evidence as may support and confirm the truth of Christianity, and shew that the providence of God has appeared in its establishment and in its preservation ;—to avoid peremptory decisions on some lately controverted questions, and seek out a way between the extremes ;—not to pronounce those things false which may perhaps be true, nor those things certain which are only probable, nor those things probable which are ambiguous ;—and to try the experiment, whether, by this method, a reader may not be gently led to grant all that is required of him, and rather more than less ;—to set before men some of the virtues, as well as failings, of the ancient Christians, whence they may draw practical inferences ;—to excite in their hearts a love for Christianity, that best gift of Heaven to mankind, and a respect, though not a superstitious veneration, for those good men, who, if they could not dispute for it altogether so well as the present generation, yet, which is more, could die for it ;—to reject those trifles which persons of greater zeal than discernment would obtrude upon the world as golden reliques of primitive Christianity ;—and to add several things

things of a miscellaneous and philological kind, which will serve, at least, to diversify the subject. Such is the intention of the work: may it atone for its defects.

There is some comfort arising from a candid observation of the younger Pliny; *Historia quoquo modo scripta delectat*. A homely collection of remarkable transactions and revolutions has ever something to recommend it to favour: and if this be true of history, it is likewise true of thoughts and observations on history, if they be not quite impertinent. They who represent it as a perfect loss of time to peruse such authors as the *Historice Augustæ scriptores* (though they are illustrated by excellent commentators) and the *Byzantine writers*, have a taste too polite and fastidious; since, where better historians are not to be had, those of an inferior class must supply their place, and become necessary and valuable on many accounts. A French writer is on our side, who says, *Tout livre est bon; Every book is good*: for thus he translates the Latin title of a treatise of Philo Judæus, *Omnis bonus liber est; Every good man is a free man*. It was well for him that he did not live within the reach of the Inquisition, which might have taken this as a reflexion on the *Index Expurgatorius*.

The author would willingly escape the dislike of some of those persons with whom perhaps he will be found not entirely to agree. He and they are engaged in the same common cause, and he hopes that, for the sake of many remarks contained in this work, they will excuse the rest; as on his side, a diversity of sentiments, in some points, lessens not the regard and value which he has for them, and which they so justly deserve. In one respect he pretends to be ex-

tremely like Joseph Mede. *I have a conceit, says that excellent person, that some opinions are in some sort fatal to some men, and therefore I can with much patience endure a man to be contrary-minded, and have no inclination to contend with him.—There is more goes to persuasion than reasons and demonstrations, and that is not in my power.—There are few men living who are less troubled to see others differ from them in opinion than I am; whether it be a virtue or a vice, I know not.*

One of the noblest uses which can be made of Christian antiquities would be to learn wisdom, and union, and moderation, from the faults, indiscretions, and follies, and from the prudence, charity, and piety of our predecessors; to observe carefully what was good, and what was blameable in remoter ages, and thence to improve ourselves, as we are a Christian nation, by removing the blemishes and defects, from which perhaps we are not free, and by adopting every thing commendable which we may have neglected.

A Christian society, formed upon such a plan, would not altogether answer the fair and bright idea which the imagination represents, because perfection dwells not here below, and some bad materials must of necessity enter into the structure; but it would be more than a faint copy and image of that church, which the beloved disciple had the pleasure to see *coming down from God out of heaven, prepared as a bride adorned for her husband, who had no need of the sun, neither of the moon to shine in it, for the glory of God did lighten it, and the Lamb was the light thereof*, Rev. xxi.

For this excellent end and purpose, the divine Providence seems to have preserved ecclesiastical records, and has commanded devouring time to respect them, that posterity might receive instruction from those venerable

nerable and silent monitors, and not want examples to shun and to follow.

Christianity reduced to its principles, is more plain and simple than is commonly imagined, and is calculated for general utility.

When the first teachers of the gospel, the apostles of Jesus, died, their authority, in a great measure, died with them, and devolved not upon their disciples—but it still lives in their writings.

Christianity, though so much of it ever subsisted as to distinguish it advantageously from Paganism, Judaism, Mahomedism, Deism, varied considerably, and adopted several disagreeing non-essentials, according to the times and the people who entertained it.

A clear and unpolluted fountain, fed by secret channels with the dew of heaven, when it grows a large river, and takes a long and winding course, receives a tincture from the various soils through which it passes.

When Christianity became a bulky system, one may trace in it the genius of the loquacious and ever-wrangling Greeks; of the enthusiastic Africans, whose imagination was sublimed by the heat of the sun; of the superstitious Egyptians, whose fertile soil, and warm climate produced monks and hermits swarming like animals sprung from the impregnated mud of the Nile; and of the ambitious and political Romans, who were resolved to rule over the world in one shape or other. To this we may add the Jewish zeal for trifles, arising from a contracted illiberal mind; the learned subtilty of the Gentile philosophers; and the pomp and ceremony of Paganism.

As

As soon as Christian societies began, debates began; and as soon as Christianity was by law established, debates grew more violent. It is not in the wit, or in the power of man, or rather, it is an impossibility, to prevent diversity of opinions, since this is the unavoidable result of human imperfection, and human liberty, and is not to be removed, unless we had more light, or less agency.

It is related of a grave Roman magistrate, that, when he came to Greece as Proconsul, he assembled together the philosophers at Athens, the head-quarters of wit and logic, and told them that he was much concerned at their dissensions, and advised them to agree at last in their opinions, and offered them his authority and assistance to re-unite and reconcile them; upon which they all agreed in laughing at him for his pains. *Cicero De Leg. i. 20.*

Councils after councils convened to settle the differences amongst Christians; and sometimes they met so frequently, that they might be called *Quarter-Sessions*, as well as *Councils*. But Gregory Nazianzen, a man of learning, a Christian, a bishop, and a father of the church, has told us, that, for his part, he chose to avoid all such assemblies, because he never saw any that had good success, and that did not rather encrease than lessen dissensions and quarrels, *Epist. lv.* and in many other places, where he repeats the same complaints in verse and in prose.

The Christians had never agreed concerning the time of keeping Easter; but when Victor was bishop of Rome, about A. D. 196, the contest grew warm, and Victor excommunicated, or ~~attempted to~~ excommunicate, the Asiatic churches, which would not comply with his infallibility, for which Irenæus reproved him,

him, as he well deserved. Thus the domineering spirit began to exert itself betimes. The Council of Nice afterwards settled the affair, and then the few Quartadecimans who stood out were called heretics, according to the custom of calling every thing heresy that offends the majority. But they must have been a stubborn and refractory set of people, to wrangle on about such a trifle, and not to yield to the far greater number in a thing of no consequence to faith or morals. They should have agreed to break the egg at the same end with their neighbours. If the upper side has been sometimes imperious and over-ruling, the lower has been as perverse and unpersuasible.

When the fathers assembled at Ephesus, and, headed by Cyril of Alexandria, had decreed that Nestorius should be deposed, and that the Virgin-mother of our Saviour should be called *Mother of God*, the people of Ephesus, who had been in miserable fears and anxieties, with transports of joy embraced the knees, and kissed the hands of the bishops; a people, as we may suppose, warm and sprightly, and very much in earnest. Their pagan ancestors had signalized themselves by their zeal for Diana.

If General Councils have dogmatically decreed strange things, little, national, protestant synods have often acted in a manner full as arbitrary. One that was held in France, A. D. 1612, offended at something that *Piscator* had taught concerning *justification*, compelled all who should go into orders to take this oath: *I receive and approve all that is contained in the Confession of faith of the reformed churches of this nation, and promise to persevere therein to my life's end, and never to believe or teach any thing not conformable to it: and because some have contested about the sense of the eighteenth*

teenth article, which is concerning justification, I declare and protest before God, that I understand it according to the sense received in our churches, approved by national synods, and conformable to the word of God, which is, that our Saviour was obedient to the moral and ceremonial law, not only for our good, but in our stead, that all the obedience which he paid to the law is imputed to us, and that our justification consists, not only in the remission of sins, but also in the imputation of his active righteousness.—And I promise never to depart from the doctrine received in our churches, and to submit to the regulations of national synods on this subject. Synodes Nationaux, &c. par Aymon. These men would no more have parted with an inch of their theological system, than the Muscovites once would with an inch of their beards.

Here follows another decree, made in France A. D. 1620.

I swear and promise before God, and this holy assembly, that I receive, approve, and embrace all the doctrine taught and decided by the national synod of Dort—I swear and promise that I will persevere in it all my life long, and defend it with all my power, and never depart from it in my sermons, college-lectures, writings, or conversation, or in any other manner, public or private. I declare also and protest, that I reject and condemn the doctrine of the Arminians, because &c.—So help me God, as I swear all this without equivocation or mental reservation.

They should have thus prefaced the ordinance: *It seemed good to the Holy Ghost and to us, to lay upon you no greater burden, than these necessary things which follow, &c.*

To

To compel any one to swear that he will never alter his opinions about controversial divinity, is a grievous imposition. It might have made some unstable men go over to Popery out of resentment, and say, *If I must surrender body, soul, sense, and understanding, the church of Rome shall have them, and not you.* Thus,

Hiacos intra muros peccatur et extra :

whilst Christianity blushes and grieves that she can say so little in behalf of her children.

I pass over the synod of Dort, in which the prevailing party oppressed, as they often do, the wise and the learned, and entailed an irrational and uncharitable system on their posterity.

It is said that Pope Innocent the tenth, (I think) when the Jansenian controversy was so warmly agitated, told his learned librarian Lucas Holstenius, that he was very uneasy about it, and unwilling to decide it, because it was a point which he understood not, and had never studied. Holstenius replied, that it seemed not necessary for his Holiness, at that time of life, to begin to study it, and much less to decide it, since it was an intricate subject, which had divided, not only the Christian world, but the greatest philosophers of antiquity ; that if the contending parties were left to themselves after they had reasoned, and railed, and wrangled, and declaimed, and preached, and written against one another, and eased themselves that way, they would at last sit down and be quiet for very weariness, or for want of hearers and readers : which advice seemed not at all amiss to the Pope, and was favourably received, but not followed.

Postellus was a scholar and a fanatic, two things that are seldom found together. Latin and Greek helped

helped to damage his head, and Hebrew quite over-
set him. He gave into cabalistic interpretations of the
Old Testament, and believed in the revelations of some
Sibyl, some daughter of Esdras, who prophesied in his
days, and was one of those who want to let in new
light upon the church, whilst they want more to have
the light shut out, and the flaws and crevices patched
and stopped in the *ὑπερφῶν*, in the upper chamber at
home. The poor man was accused of heresy ; upon
which he entered boldly into the lion's den, surren-
dered himself a prisoner to the Inquisitors at Venice,
offering to take his trial, and to demonstrate his inno-
cence ; and thus gave an additional proof of his dis-
order, whilst, with the adventurous lover in the fable,

Tenarias etiam fauces, alta ostia Ditis,

Et caligantem nigra formidine lucum

Ingressus, Manesque adiit, Regemque tremendum,

Nesciaque humanis precibus mansuescere corda.

Postellus, like Orpheus, found favour in the sight of
the *Infernal Powers* : They behaved themselves, who
would believe it ! as Philosophers and Christians upon
the occasion, and did him justice ; for after a fair hear-
ing, they passed sentence on him, declaring that he
was not a *heretic*, but only *mad* ; *Postellum non esse*
hæreticum, sed tantum amentem. Lettres de Simon, i. 23..
If the Inquisitors would act thus, it would be better
for their prisoners in this world, and for themselves in
the next. It will then be found a poor excuse for their
cruelty, that it helped to fill the church with nominal
catholics, and to keep up an unity of exoteric faith in
the bond of ignorance, fear, and hypocrisy.

Men will compel others, not to think with them, for
that is impossible, but to say they do ; upon which
they obtain full leave, not to think or reason at all, and
this

this is called *unity*; which is somewhat like the behaviour of the Romans, as it is described by a brave countryman of ours in Tacitus,—*Ubi solitudinem faciunt, pacem appellant*.

Disputing enflames fiery zeal, and men bestow blows upon their antagonists, especially when arguments fall short. *Invalidum ursis caput, vis maxima in brachiis et in lumbis*, says Solinus. If their hands are tied, they bestow a plentiful effusion of curses, and denounce divine judgments; but if they are at full liberty, they bestow both: and then cruelty is called charity, charity to the soul, and this same charity, as it is of a fruitful and diffusive nature, produces anathemas, informations, calumnies, banishments, imprisonments, confiscations, inquisitions, and so forth.

Tillemont, speaking of the scandalous persecution in the reign of Constantius, when the *Arians* oppressed the *Consubstantialists*, and warmed with his subject, breaks out into these reflections,—*Conviction and persuasion cannot be brought about by the imperious menaces of princes; nor is there any room left for the exercise of reason, when a refusal to submit brings on banishment and death.—Such doctrines proceed from the intention of men, not from the Spirit of God, who forces and compels no one against his will.* His observations are just: you can no more subdue the understanding with blows, than beat down a castle with syllogisms. A lucid ray shot through the soul of this superstitious, though else valuable writer, as a flash of lightning in a dark night. There is indeed between the human understanding and truth a natural and eternal alliance, which is suspended and disordered by ignorance, passion, bigotry, prejudice and selfishness, but can never be totally broken. When a man suffers, and sees his friends suffer

fer for conscience sake, he perceives the beauty of the sacred rule, *Whatsoever ye would that others should do unto you, do ye even so unto them* : but when the orthodox persecute the heterodox, this pious author winks hard, and can see no great harm in it. No more could Augustine, when, upon second thoughts, but not the wisest, he contended for the doctrine of persecution, in some letters, which Bayle has taken to pieces very handsomely in his *Philosophical Commentary* ; happy if he had always so exercised his abilities, and had left his *Manichæans* to shift for themselves ! Sarah, says Augustine, and Hagar, are types of the Catholic church and of the Heretics. When Hagar offends her mistress, this is downright rebellion : when Sarah beats Hagar, this is due correction. So is it with the spiritual and the ungodly ; they are always at variance, always buffeting and bruising each other, but the bastinadoes of the righteous are sanctified by the good intention, and by the salutary effects.

Socrates, the historian, like an honest man, censures Theodosius, an orthodox bishop, for persecuting the Macedonians, vii. 3. upon which Valesius thus delivers his opinion : *Celebris quæstio est, &c. It is a celebrated and much controverted question, whether it be lawful for Catholics, and particularly for bishops, to persecute heretics. I think it is necessary to have recourse to a DISTINCTION. It is certainly unlawful to vex them, as Theodosius did, for the sake of extorting money ; and also to prosecute them as criminals, and to thirst after their blood, as Idatius, and some other bishops of Spain acted towards the Priscillianists. But it is, and ever was permitted to the Catholics to implore the aid of princes and magistrates against heretics, that they may be restrained and kept in order, and that they may not insolently exalt*

exalt themselves above the Catholics, or insult and deride the Catholic religion. Augustine indeed confesses that he had formerly been of opinion, that heretics should not be harassed by Catholics, but rather allured by all kind of gentle methods. Yet afterwards he changed his opinion, having learned by experience that the laws made by the emperors against heretics had proved the happy occasion of their conversion; and he observes, that the converted Donatists had acknowledged that they never should have returned to the church, but have lived and died in their errors, if they had not been, in a manner, incited and attracted, by the punishments and mulcts of the imperial laws. This passage of Augustine, which is very elegant, is in the 48th Epistle to Vincentius, to which may be added what he has said in the 23d ch. of the first book against Gaudentius.

In some places which Valesius knew, and in some places which he knew not, the *Odium Theologicum*, like a poisonous tree, has reared its head and spread its arms, and the neighbouring plants, instead of receiving shelter and protection, have sickened and withered beneath its baleful influence; yet was it a friendly covering to weeds and nettles, and the fox lodged safely at its root, and birds of ill omen screamed in its branches.

The groundless surmises of a booby, or of a bigot, have hurt many a man of sense, and qualified him to be registered in an Appendix to *Pierius de infelicitate literatorum*. Where arbitrary power has prevailed, nothing has proved more profitable than either obsequious dulness, or a political palsy in the head, nodding and assenting to all.

Omnia omnibus amuens;

as Catullus says of old age.

Opinions

Opinions start up, and flourish, and fall into disgrace, and seem to die ; but, like Alpheus and Arethusa, they only disappear for a time, and rise into light, and into favour again.

What men call heresy is often a *local* and a *secular* crime ; for what is heresy in one century and in one country, is sound doctrine in another ; and in some disputes, as in the Nestorian and the Pelagian controversies, to mention none besides, it is a nice thing to settle the boundaries between orthodoxy and heterodoxy, and the only way to be safe is to have recourse to *implicit faith*, and to imitate the prudent monk, who, when Satan would have drawn him into heresy, by asking him what he believed of a certain point, answered, *Id credo quod credit ecclesia*. But *Quid credit ecclesia ?* said Satan. *Id quod ego credo*, replied the other : and Nestorius, if he would have slept in his own bed, should have said, *Id credo quod credit sanctissimus Cyrillus*. Nestorius perhaps suffered no more than he deserved, because he had been a persecutor himself ; but such violent proceedings about such points, in different times and places, have inclined many persons to suspect that in those assemblies, some were talkative, quarrelsome, disingenuous, and overbearing, whilst others were passive dolts, and *pedarii senatores*. Every age has continued to produce wranglers of this kind, who now have the rest which they would not give other people ; and whose works follow them, and are at rest also.

Theodosius the first, made severe laws against heretics, about A. D. 380, and required of all his subjects that they should follow *the faith of Pope Damasus, and of Peter of Alexandria* ; for which, and such like holy and wholesome ordinances, to be found in the

the Theodosian code, he is extolled by Tillemont and many others, as a man of God. The best thing that can be said for him is, that he was not, on these occasions, as bad as his word, but threatened more than he performed. As to Damasus, whatsoever his faith was, it had been better for him to have lived and died a presbyter, and one cannot say of him that he *fought a good fight*, when he fought for his bishopric. His braves slew many of the opposite party, and great was the fury of the religious ruffians on both sides, in this holy war. Pious times, and much to be honoured or envied!

What is to be done then with one who is, or who is accounted, or whispered to be erroneous? Why, *Distinguendum est*: you must not shed his blood, nor enrich yourself with his spoils; but you may contrive other ways to bring him to a right mind, or to beggary: ways, which resemble the method of Italian assassins, to beat a man with satchells of sand; no blood is shed, and no bones are broken, but the patient dies by the operation.

A gentleman and a scholar, as Valesius was, should have nothing to do with such *distinctions*: he ought rather to *distinguish* himself from the vulgar by a larger mind, by detesting persecution in every shape, were it only for this reason, that it is the bane of letters; by accounting all the learned and ingenious; wheresoever dispersed, or howsoever distressed, as brethren, and by loving and serving them, unless they be *rude* and *insolent*, *vitious* and *immoral*. Would Valesius have had such countrymen of his as Joseph Scaliger, Isaac Casaubon, Salmasius, Bochart, Blondel, Daillé, sent to inhabit the bastille, or the gallies? would he have had them directed, corrected, and insulted, by a king's

confessor, and by persons who knew nothing besides their breviary, if peradventure they knew that ? This is not said to insinuate that the Gallican church had not in his time, and in all times, many excellent men : nothing can be farther from the author's thoughts ; but the fomenters of oppression and persecution have been usually either void of letters, or learned dunces at the best, and have accounted it an insufferable impudence in any man to be wiser, and more knowing than themselves. How could Valesius even name *Augustine*, who, ingenious as he certainly was, and respectable as he may be on other accounts, yet by the weak things which zeal, not ill nature, urged him to say on this subject, tarnished in some degree his own reputation, and espoused a cause, full of absurdities which all the wit of man cannot defend, and of spots which all the water of the ocean cannot wash off !

In this world, in this great infirmary, among other distempers with which poor mortals are afflicted, is an intemperate zeal, or a spirit of party, which, when it arises to a certain pitch, is not to be restrained by the gentle bands of reason : they are broken asunder, as a thread touched with fire. The imagination then plays her part, and raises an ugly phantom, and the man spends his rage upon it, and sometimes by mistake strikes at his friend,

—*et fit pugil, et medicum urget.*

Whilst the inconveniencies are no greater than this, we should patiently bear with the defects and disorders of such men, as with the forwardness of those who are in pain, and, as Seneca says, *more optimorum parentum, qui maledictis suorum infantium arrident* ; like tender parents, who smile at the little perversities of their children ; for there are *old* as well as *young* children,

dren, and perhaps more indulgence is due to the former than to the latter, since they cannot be spoiled by it, being past curing.

And here the civil magistrate is of excellent use, to keep the peace among his fractious subjects, or at least to keep them from doing one another a bodily mischief. Forbear to draw your sword upon your adversary, says Minerva to Achilles ; abuse him as much and as long as you will :

‘Αλλ’ ἄγε λῆγ’ ἔριδος, μηδὲ ξίφος ἔλκευ χερσί,

‘Αλλ’ ἥτοι ἔπισσι μὲν δρεΐδισον, ὥς ἑσέαι στερ.

But worse than fanatical fervour is the sedate spirit of religious tyranny, arising from the lust of dominion, from sordid self-interest, and from atheistical politics, taking its measures, and pursuing its ends deliberately, void of all regard to truth, and of every tender sentiment of pity and humanity.

Thus Christianity degenerated, and things went on from bad to worse, from folly to corruption, from weakness to wickedness ; and then the Reformation made considerable amendments.

THE Christian world is now divided into the reformed and unreformed, or rather, into those who are not, and those who are members of the church of Rome. The latter, as they deal least in reason, are the most disposed to use the illuminating arguments above-mentioned, which serve as a *succedaneum* in the place of reason. They would willingly force upon us a mode of Christianity, which neither we nor our fathers were able to bear. Our religious establishment is far better, and highly valuable, and we should be ungrateful if we did not esteem it ; but the more simple and unexceptionable a religion is, the dearer will

it be to those who understand it, and know what it is to enjoy it. In such a religion, charity would be a gainer, and faith would be no loser, and it would be an easier task to satisfy doubters, to bring over infidels, and to re-unite believers. Before the Jews shall be converted, and the Gentiles flow into the church, it is reasonable to suppose, that in the Christian world there will be more harmony, more mutual compliance and forbearance, than at present is to be found.

As the opposers of the gospel have frequently had recourse to arguments *ad hominem*, and have taken advantage from modern systems, and from the writings of divines of this or that persuasion; so the defenders of revelation have often found themselves under a necessity of reducing things to the venerable Christianity of the New Testament, and of adventuring no farther; and of declining the rest, as not essential to the cause, and to the controversy.

The removal even of small defects, and improvement from good to better, should always be the object of every man's warm wishes, and modest and peaceable endeavours. Modest and peaceable they ought certainly to be; for there is a reverence due to the public, to civil society, to rulers and magistrates, and to the majority; and decency and prudence are neither *marks* of the *beast*, nor that *worldly wisdom* which stands condemned in the gospel. In all such endeavours, great care and discretion are requisite. Difficulties of various sorts present themselves, and difficulties not to be slighted, some of which shall be passed over in silence, because they might possibly rather tend to irritate than to appease, and give an offence which should be industriously avoided. There is a fear of consequences, arising in cautious and diffident

fidest minds, a fear of losing what is valuable by seeking what is desirable ; there is a wide-spread indifference towards every thing of a serious kind, and it is sadly increased by that thoughtless dissipation, and those expensive follies, which are so prevalent ; there is also a settled dislike of the gospel among too many, who are so ignorant, and so prejudiced, as to account Christianity itself to be of no use and importance.

These considerations may incline melancholy persons to imagine, that it is vain to expect amendments of a more refined nature, which seem to depend on a favourable concurrence of circumstances seldom united, and that we have not a foundation which can bear the superstructure.

It is much to be wished, that more effectual methods could be contrived to suppress vice, and to assist the willing, and to compel the unwilling to earn their bread honestly in the days of their youth and strength, and thereby to secure the peace of civil society, and to save from ruin so many poor creatures, of whom it is hard to decide, whether they be more wicked, or more miserable, and whose crimes it would be far better to prevent than to punish. If we could do any thing to remove, or to diminish these dreadful evils, moral and natural, the love of God and of man would be our reward. But these are things which perhaps are reserved for another generation :

—*manet nostros felix ea cura nepotes.*

Let us in the mean time be thankful for what we have ; for our religion and liberties ; for a disposition, which may be called national, to acts of charity public or private, and for that portion of learning, and that skill in liberal arts and sciences, which we possess, suf-

ficient to secure us from the contempt of our neighbours, though not to give us any claim to pre-
cedency. What we possess of erudition, must in a great measure be ascribed to the prevailing force of education, emulation, and custom ; for so it is, the love of letters begun at *school* and continued at the *university*, will usually accompany a man through all the changing scenes of this life, improving his pleasures, and soothing his sorrows. Happy is it, that the pious and judicious liberality of our ancestors founded and endowed *those two noble seminaries*, which have been our best security against ignorance, superstition, and infidelity.

ESTOTE PERPETUÆ !

An-agreeable remembrance of former days presents itself,

—*nec me meminisse pigebit alumnae,*

Dum memor ipse mei, dum spiritus hos regit artus.

But let us also do justice to the theological merits, and useful labours of persons of another denomination in this country, of whom *qui tales sunt, utinam essent nostri*.

Polite learning, or *humanity*, helps to open and enlarge the mind, and to give it a generous and liberal way of thinking, not what is vulgarly termed *free-thinking*, and belongs to vulgar understandings. *Learning* has a lovely child called *moderation*, and *moderation* is not afraid or ashamed to shew her face in the theological world ; the number of her friends is increased, and, whilst our civil constitution subsists, they are in no danger of being sewed up in a bag with a monkey, a viper, a wit, and a free-thinker, and flung into the next river. That *liberty of prophesying* may prevail, and that *profane licentiousness* may be restrained, are wishes which should always be joined together.

And

And now, if men will say I persuade to indifferency, I must bear it as well as I can. I am not yet without remedy, as they are; for patience will help me, and reason cannot cure them. The words are borrowed from a pious, ingenious, learned, charitable, and sweet tempered bishop, who, with a noble candour and generous openness, pleads the cause of *liberty of prophesying*, and who never was censured for it by any man worth the mentioning, though probably he was reviled by those who called Tillotson an *Atheist*. If these two excellent *Prelates*, and *Erasmus* and *Chillingworth*, and *John Hales*, and *Locke*, and *Episcopius*, and *Grotius*, and many who shall not be named, had been contemporaries, and had met together **FREELY** to determine the important question, *What makes a man a Christian, and what profession of faith should be deemed sufficient*, they would probably have agreed, notwithstanding the diversity of opinions which they might all have had on some theological points. There have been others, indeed, who, on such an occasion, would have given us an ample catalogue of *necessaries*, the inference from which would have been, that it must needs be a very learned; and a very subtle, and a very ingenious thing to be a good Christian: for some of these *necessaries* are of so refined a nature, that the understanding can hardly lay hold of them, or the memory retain them:

Tec frustra comprehensa, manus effugit imago,

Par levibus ventis, volucrique simillima somno.

Some of the best defenders of Christianity, down from Origen, no saint, it seems, but worth a hundred and fifty saints who might be mentioned, have been unkindly used and traduced by *injudicious* Christians, for a hard-

or epithet shall not be given to them. *Sirs, ye are brethren; why do ye wrong one to another?* Even civil war has ceased, when the common enemy has been at the door, and mad factions have joined to repel him, and to crown the deserving with laurel garlands; but Christians, when besieged by powerful and formidable infidels, have found leisure and stomach to contend, whether the light which shone about Christ at his transfiguration was created or uncreated.

What has been here suggested was with a view, not to dictate, no not even to advise, but only to moderate a prejudice, which lies deep in the heart of an Englishman and a Churchman, that as his own vales, hills, rivers, and cities, surpass in beauty and convenience any thing that the world affords, so his own religious constitution is free even from all appearance of defect, and shadow of imperfection. This may be called *amare focos, et lares*: the first we easily excuse, as an amiable weakness in the Englishman; let us shew the same favour to the other in the Churchman: but a little more candour, and a little less partiality would do us no harm. The author aims at nothing beyond this, and therefore ENTERS INTO NO PARTICULARS. If the general intimation be proper, from whom can it come more properly than from one whose name or address can give no sanction to it, and raise no prejudices in its behalf? so that it must rely upon its own reasonableness, and stand destitute of all other recommendation.

As to particulars, his opinion would never be asked in such cases, and, if it were asked, he would perhaps, like Simonides, desire a day to consider, and then another, not through an affectation of humility, nor, if he may be credited, through hope of pleasing, or fear of displeasing, but through a real diffidence,
and

and a consciousness of the difference between discerning what may be speculatively right, and judging what is practicable. An application to moral and theological studies will lead a person to some skill in the first, if he has a mind open to conviction ; but the latter requires a genius and a knowledge of a different sort.

Besides all this, the middle course between too *low* and too *high*, between the *serpent* and the *altar*, is somewhat hard to keep :

*Neu te dexterior tortum declinet in anguem,
Neve sinisterior pressam rota ducat ad aram.*

Ovid. Met. ii. 138.

It may therefore be more adviseable for him to examine *himself* in serious silence, and to consider what passes *within*, and in his own little circle, where the circumference almost touches the centre ;

Ὅτι οἱ ἐν μεγάροις κακόντ' ἀγαθόν τε τέτυκται.

which single line, according to the wise Socrates, contains a complete system of philosophy.

If he desires that others would receive with Christian candour these suggestions, which, whatsoever they be, proceed from a good intention, and are not the language of self-interest, he desires no more than he is very willing to return. But be that as it will, he is not at all disposed to contend about them.

Errare potest : litigiosus esse non vult.

Such contentions beget, or keep up enmity ; and he had rather glide through the world like a shadow, obscurely and quietly, and meet with *few* censurers ; for to have *none*, is a blessing which never was designed for a writer on ecclesiastical subjects.

For this, and for other good reasons, authors should avoid, as much as they can, replies and rejoinders, the usual consequences of which are, loss of time, and loss

of

of temper. Happy is he who is engaged in controversy with his own passions, and comes off superior ; who makes it his endeavour that his follies and weaknesses may die before him, and who daily meditates on mortality and immortality !

Let us hear a wise man who thus speaks to himself, and to us : *May my last hours find me occupied in amending and improving my heart : that I may be able to say to God, Have I violated thy commands ? have I ever accused thee, and complained of thy government ? I have been sick and infirm, because it was thy appointment ; and so have others, but I willingly. I have been poor according to thy good pleasure, but contented. I have had no dignities : thou hast withheld them, and I have not thought them even worthy of a wish. Didst thou see me sad and dejected on these accounts ? Did I not appear before thee with a serene countenance, and cheerfully complying with thy sacred orders ? Deal with me and dispose of me as thou wilt ; thy will is mine ; and if any one shall say that thou hast been unkind to me, I will defend and maintain thy cause against him. Wilt thou that I depart hence ? I go ; and I return thee my sincerest thanks that thou hast vouchsafed to call me hither to this great assembly and entertainment, and hast permitted me to contemplate thy works, to admire and adore thy providence, and to comprehend the wisdom of thy conduct. May death seize me writing and meditating such things.*

It is needless to say whence these reflections are taken ; the owner is so well known : but they can never be too often cited, and if the stoical self-sufficiency which breathes in some parts of them were corrected by Christian humility, they would be to many of us a *proper lesson* for the day, and remind us of the resignation that is due to an all-wise and all-gracious providence.

REMARKS

REMARKS

ON

ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY.

IT has been often observed, that Christianity made its appearance in the most proper time, and under a favourable concurrence of circumstances. Something has been said on this head in my fourth *discourse* on the *Christian Religion*: what is now offered to the reader is partly a continuation of the same subject; and these *remarks* are intended, in some measure, as a supplement to those *discourses*.

Christianity began to gain ground in Judea and its neighbourhood in the reign of Tiberius, a very wicked prince, but who was so occupied with his lusts and with his cruelty towards considerable persons whom he hated, envied, or feared, and was also naturally so slow and indolent, that either he heard little of this remote and rising sect, or thought it beneath his notice, and so did it no harm.

It is probable that Pilate, who had no enmity towards Christ, and accounted him a man unjustly accused, and an extraordinary person, might be moved by the wonderful circumstances attending and following his death to hold him in veneration, and perhaps to

to think him a hero, and the son of some deity. It is possible that he might send a narrative, such as he thought most convenient, of these transactions to Tiberius; but it is not at all likely that Tiberius proposed to the senate that Christ should be deified, and that the senate rejected it, and that Tiberius continued favourably disposed towards Christ, and that he threatened to punish those who should molest and accuse the Christians *. This report rests principally upon the authority of Tertullian, who was very capable of being deceived, and Eusebius had it from him, *Eccl. Hist.* ii. 2. The ancient Christians might have been misinformed in this, as in some other points. Tiberius was of an irreligious disposition and a fatalist, and little disposed to increase the number of the gods, and the burden of Atlas: *Circa deos ac religiones negligentior: quippe addictus mathematicæ; persuasionisque plenus cuncta fato agi* †. He hated foreign superstitions, Egyptian and Jewish rites: *Externas ceremonias, Ægyptios Judaicosque ritus compescuit* ‡. He and the senate had expelled the Jews from Rome ||, and about the time of Christ's crucifixion he had destroyed an illustrious family, for this, amongst other reasons, that divine honours had been paid to one Theophanes an ancestor of theirs: *Datum erat crimini quod Theophanem Mitylencæum proacum eorum Cn. Magnus inter intimos habuisset: quodque defuncto Theophani cælestes honores Græci adulatio tribuerat* §. Augustus commended Caius for not worshipping at Jerusalem: *Caium nepotem, quod Judæam prætervehens, apud Hierosolimam non supplicasset, collaudavit* ¶: and Tiberius made it a rule

* See *Le Clerc Hist. Eccl.* p. 324. † Sueton. Tiber. 69.

‡ Sueton. Tiber. 36. | Tacitus, Suetonius, Josephus.

§ Tacitus, Ann. vi. 18. ¶ Sueton. Aug. 93.

rule, *omnia facta dictaque ejus vice legis observare*, as he says of himself in *Tacitus*, Ann. iv. 37. Observe also that the Jews persecuted the apostles and slew Stephen, and that Saul made havock of the church, entering into every house, and haling men and women, committed them to prison, and that Pilate connived at all this violence, and was not afraid of the resentment of Tiberius on that account.

The custom which the Romans had to deify and adore their emperors, most of them after their decease, and some of them during their lives, even though they were the vilest of mankind; the apotheosis of Antinōus, Adrian's favourite; the contempt which many emperors, as Tiberius, and Caius, and Nero * shewed towards their gods; the endeavour of Heliogabalus to suppress the worship of the ancient deities, and to introduce a ridiculous god of his own †; the strange Egyptian deities which had crept into Italy, and were there adored by some and detested by others; the liberty which many learned persons had taken with the popular religion ‡;—these things had a tendency to wean the pagans by slow degrees from their attachment to idolatry, and to facilitate the worship of one God and Father of all, who, by his Son, or his Word, reconciled to himself, and instructed mankind, and by his

* *Religionum usquequaque contemtor, præter unius Deæ Syriæ. Hanc mox ita sprexit, ut urinâ contaminaret. Suet. Ner. 56.*

† *Heliogabulum in Palatino monte juxta ædes imperatorias consecravit, eique templum fecit, studens et Matris typum, et Vestæ ignem, et Palladium, et ancilia, et omnia Romanis veneranda in illud transferre templum, et id agens, ne quis Romæ deus nisi Heliogabalus coheretur, &c. Lampridius 3.*

‡ It is related somewhere of Diogenes the cynic, that, to shew his contempt of sacrifices, he took a louse, and cracked it upon the altar of Diana.

his Spirit assisted virtuous minds in their progress to wisdom and happiness, as a religion more simple, and noble, and philosophical, and reasonable than paganism.

The Senate, says Dio, ordered the temples of Isis and Serapis to be pulled down, and afterwards would not suffer any to be erected *intra pomerium*. *Τὸς τινὲς, ὡς ἰδὼτα τῶν ἐπιποιήσεω, καθελὼν τῇ Βουλῇ ἴδμεν ἢ γὰρ δὴ τὸς θεοὺς ἐνόμισαν, καὶ ὅτι γε δεῖ ἰστασθαι, ὅτι καὶ δημοσίᾳ αὐτοῖς σέβασθαι, ἔξω τῷ πομπερίῳ σφᾶς ἰδρύσασθαι.* xl. p. 142. A little after the civil war between Caesar and Pompey, the *Haruspices* ordered the temples of these deities to be demolished. *Dio* xlii. p. 196.

How much the goddess Isis and her sacred rites were despised may be seen in Propertius ii. 24. Lucan viii. 831. ix. 158. Juvenal vi. 469. 526. ix. 92. not to mention several others. The apotheosis of the Roman emperors is made the subject of the utmost contempt and ridicule by Seneca, in his *Ἀποκολοκύντῳσις*.

The Romans knew not much of Christianity, and in a great measure overlooked it, till its professors were so considerably increased, that they could not easily be destroyed.

Christianity at first was more likely to prosper under bad than under good emperors, if these were tenacious of their religious rites and ceremonies. The bad emperors had usually other crimes and other mischief in view, and no leisure to plague such a little sect, little when compared to paganism. And accordingly, from the death of Christ to Vespasian, for about the space of thirty-seven years, the Romans did not much mind the progress of the gospel. They were ruled by weak, or frantic and vicious emperors; the magistrates and senators, and every worthy man of any

any note stood in continual fear for their own lives. Under Galba, Otho, and Vitellius, the empire was a scene of confusion, desolation, and misery.

Nero, indeed, destroyed several Christians at Rome, but it was for a supposed crime of which all the world knew them to be innocent; so that this cruel treatment raised compassion, and rather did service than harm to the Christian cause, and the persecution was soon over.

If Claudius and the Senate in his time had known the nature of the gospel in this point, that it was directly opposite to the national religion, and that, if it prospered, Paganism must decline and come to nothing, and that every Christian thought himself bound to spread his opinions by all arts and means which were not immoral, they would have endeavoured to suppress it effectually; but it lay screened then under Judaism, and the Jews had leave to worship God in their own way.

The Christians who suffered under Nero are called *malefici* by Suetonius, c. 16. that is, sorcerers, magicians. Probably the Pagans had heard of their miracles, and ascribed them to magic arts, which yet was a kind of indirect acknowledgement of them. Juvénal iii. 41.

Quid Romæ faciam? mentiri nescio—motus

Astrorum ignoro: fœnus promittere patris, &c.

where the old scholiast says: *motus astrorum*: *maleficus non sum*. But here I doubt it should be, *mathematicus non sum*, which is a more literal interpretation.

Nemo mathematicus genium indemnatus habebit.—

Consulit ictericæ lento de funere matris.

Aut tamen de te, &c. vi. 562.

With

With the reader's leave, I will step out of my way to correct a passage in this poet, xiii. 64.

*Egregium sanctumque virum si cerno, bimembri
Hoc monstrum puero, vel mirandis sub aratro
Piscibus inventis, et fœtæ comparo mulæ,
Solicitus, tanquam lapides effuderit imber,
Examenumque apium longa consederit uva
Culmine delubri, tanquam in mare fluxerit amnis
Gurgitibus miris, et lactis vortice torrens.*

Henninius has given in the text *mirandis*. Lubin says we must read *mirantis*, not *miranti*. Gataker conjectures *liranti*. These honest men were all disposed to feed upon acorns, whilst other copies had *miranti*, which was very well explained by Britannicus, *sub aratro miranti, ut rei inanime dederit sensum*. *Miranti aratro* is just such an expression as *irato sistro*, xiii. 93. *esuriens ramus olive*, xiii. 99. &c. &c.

I need not observe how flat, and unmeaning, and unpoetical is the expression, *Gurgitibus miris*, and how ill it comes in after *miranti*. The poet intended to speak of a prodigy, of a river running bloody, which, together with showers of blood, has been often mentioned amongst prodigies. See *Cicero de Divin.* i. 43. The word which he used was somewhat uncommon, and therefore lost, and ill supplied. He wrote, I believe,

Gurgitibus miniis, et lactis vortice torrens.

miniis, that is, *sanguineis, rubris instar minii*. The adjective *minius*, or *mineus*, from *minium*, *red lead, vermilion*, is twice used by Apuleius, *Fulgentium rosarum minius color*, and *Cervicula psittaci circulo mineo*. Faber's Thesaurus.—If there were no example extant of the adjective *minius*, that would not be a sufficient reason to reject the emendation, since the Greek and Latin

Latin poets frequently turn substantives into adjectives. So Juvenal himself, xi. 94. according to the best copies ;

Qualis in Oceano fluctu testudo nataret.

Litore *ab Oceano Gallis venientibus*—113.

Catullus, lxiii. according to Scaliger's emendation,

Nimirum Oceano se ostendit Noctifer imbre.

And hence Milton, l.

—hugest that swim th' ocean stream.

Minium in Greek is *μάλτος*, and the Sibylline oracles speak thus of a bloody shower :

Καὶ ψευδὲς σίπλωσι ἀπ' ὕραυ, οἷά τι μάλτος.

The old scholiast says, *Gurgitibus miris*] *Aut lacteis, aut sanguineis*. But you have nothing in Juvenal that answers to *sanguineis*, unless you change *miris* into *miniūs*, which is also a very slight alteration. The poet might have so contrived it as to have used *sanguis* or *cruor*, or their adjectives, but *Gurgitibus miniūs* pleased him better, as it had a more ludicrous cast, and he chose rather to stain his river with red oker than with blood. It threw a contempt upon portents and prodigies, things which he was not much disposed to believe. Lucian, or whosoever he be who wrote the treatise *De Dea Syria*, says, that the river Adonis was stained with blood every year, ὁ δὲ ποταμὸς ἐκάστῃ ἔτει αἰμαίνεσθαι, καὶ τὴν χροὴν ὀλίγας, ἐσπέρει εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν ἢ φερίσσει τὸ πολλὸν τῷ σιλάγῳ.—*Illud flumen singulis annis cruentatur, suoque amisso colore, in mare effunditur, et magnam maris partem inficit*. 8. He adds, that an inhabitant of Byblus explained the phænomenon thus : ὁ Ἀδωνὶς ὁ ποταμὸς, ὁ ζῆνι, διὰ τῷ Λεβάνῃ ἔρχεται. ὁ δὲ Λεβάνος κάρφα ξανθογῶς ἐστὶ ἄνθροι ὧν τρηχίς ἐκείνησι τῇσι ἡμέρησι ἰσάμενοι τὴν γῆν τῷ ποταμῷ ἐπιφέρουσι, εὔσαν εἰς τὰ μάλισα ΜΙΑΤΩΔΕΑ· ἢ δὲ γῆ μιν αἰμῶδες γίθησι. *Adonis flumen, o hospes,*

hospes, venit per Libanum. At Libanus multum rubicundæ terræ habet. Venti ergo vehementes, qui statos illis diebus flatus habent, terram flumini inferunt minio valde similem. Hæc illud terra reddit sanguineum.

This account has been since confirmed by Maundrel in his *Voyages*.

Sanguinem pluisse, says Cicero, senatui nuntiatum est, Atratum etiam fluxium fluxisse sanguine.—Sed et decoloratio quædam ex aliqua contagione terrena potest sanguini similis esse, De Div. ii. 27.

Some may think that we ought to read *Gurgitibus minius*, aut *tactis vortice torrens*, instead of *et*. But, unless the best manuscripts deceive us, *et* is often used in a disjunctive sense, and implies much the same as *aut*; and likewise *que*, where *ve* might seem more proper. Of this I gave some examples in the *Miscell. Observ.* vol. II. p. 255.

Amongst the miracles recorded in the acts of the apostles is the casting out of evil spirits. In the New Testament, where any circumstances are added concerning the dæmoniacks, they are generally such as shew that there was something præternatural in the distemper; for these disordered persons agreed in one story, and paid homage to Christ and to his apostles, which is not to be expected from madmen, of whom some would have worshipped, and others would have reviled Christ, according to the various humour and behaviour observable in such persons.

One reason for which the divine providence should suffer evil spirits to exert their malignant powers so much at that time, might be to give a check to Sadduceism amongst the Jews, and to Epicurean atheism amongst the Gentiles, and to remove in some measure
these

these two great impediments to the reception of the gospel.

The first miracle after the ascension of Christ, namely, the gift of tongues, was of singular and extraordinary service to Christianity. It increased the number of believers at Jerusalem, and engaged the admiration and favour of the people so much, that the enemies of Christ could not accomplish their designs against the disciples, and it served to convey the gospel to distant regions.

It has been said that the gift of tongues continued for a considerable time to be absolutely necessary for the spreading of Christianity : but it is to be observed that the Scriptures never say so. We may therefore judge for ourselves how far it was needful.

Now at the time of Pentecost there was a great resort of Jews and proselytes from various and remote countries. The gift of tongues conferred upon the disciples served to convince and convert many of these persons, and these persons served to carry Christianity with them to their several homes. Afterwards the Æthiopian eunuch, Cornelius the Roman centurion, Sergius Paulus the proconsul, Dionysius the Areopagite, and many others, were converted. By these persons, and by the travels of some of the apostles and of their disciples, Christianity was spread in the Roman empire and in the East ; and then the Greek language, together with human industry in learning other tongues, might be sufficient to convey the gospel as far, and as soon as providence intended.

Apollonius Tyaneus, as Philostratus relates, pretended to understand all languages without having learned them*. If Philostratus may be credited in this,

c 2

it

* Vit. Apoll. p. 25. ed. Par. or Euseb. contr. Hier. p. 517.

it is probable that Apollonius, knowing that the Christians claimed this gift, took the same honour to himself. He flourished in the times of Nero and of Domitian, and it is to be supposed that he could speak a little of several tongues, for he was a man of parts and a strolling vagabond.

Philostratus also assures us, that, when the mother of Apollonius was in labour, the swans came to attend and assist her; for which he produces no voucher, says Eusebius in Hierocl. p. 517. Now Philostratus, or whosoever was the author of this pretty story, stole the thought from Callimachus :

Κύκνοι δὲ θεῷ μέλποντες αἰοῖδοι.

Μηόνιον Πάσιωλὸν ἐκυκλώσαντο λιπόντες

Ἐξδομάκις περὶ Δῆλον ἐπήισαν δὲ λοχίῃ

Μυσάων ὄριθις, αἰδοτάλοι σεσηπῶν.

Hymn. in Delum, 249. where these poetical birds perform the same office to Latona.

Clemens Alexandrinus cites Plato as saying that the gods or dæmons had the use of language, and that it appeared from the discourses of dæmoniacs, since in those possessions it was not the man himself, but the dæmon in him, who spake by the man's voice. Ὁ Πλάτων δὲ καὶ τοῖς θεοῖς διάλεκτον ἀπονέμει τῶν μάλιστα μὲν ἀπὸ τῶν οὐνεράτων τεκμαιρόμενος καὶ τῶν χρησμάτων. ἄλλως δὲ, καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν δαιμονίωντων, οἱ τὴν αὐτῶν ἐφθέγγονται φωνὴν οὐδὲ ἀλεκτον, ἀλλὰ τὴν τῶν ὑπεισόντων δαιμόνων. Strom. i. p. 405. Oxon. edit. I may have overlooked it, but I never could find this place in Plato. There is something a little like it in Porphyry, where Apollo says of himself,

Αὐτὸς δ' ἐκ βροτέου φίλην ἐτεκνώσατο φωνήν. *

Jucundam expirat mortali e gutture vocem.

On

* φίλην φωνήν may be translated *suam vocem*. ἐτεκνώσατο, fors. ἐτεκνώσατο, vel. ἐτεκνώσατο vel, τεκνώσατο.

On which the philosopher observes, Πνεῦμα γὰρ τὸ κατὰ
 τὴν ἀνθρώπου ἐν τῇ ἐκπαλίᾳ δυνάμει, εἰς ὁργανικὸν σῶμα καὶ ἔμφυ-
 χον εισελθὼν, βάσει χρησμένη τῇ ψυχῇ, διὰ τοῦ σώματος, ὡς ὁργά-
 νου φωνὴν ἀπαγγέλλει. *Spiritus enim e loco superiore delapsus,*
illaque adeo particula, quæ celesti virtute in corpus suis
instructum facultatibus animatumque defluxit, animum ve-
luti basim aliquam sortita, vocem per corpus, veluti per
quoddam instrumentum, edit. Apud Euseb. *Præp. Ev.*
 v. 8. These *Δαιμονῶντες*, of whom the philosophers
 speak, were persons inspired, or supposed to be inspi-
 red by Apollo, Cybele, or other dæmons. In later
 times, the speaking of new languages has been reckon-
 ed one of the proofs of being possessed with a dæmon.
 See *Bayle's* *Dict. Grandier*, and *Michael Psellus de Ope-*
rat. Dæmonum, and some instances collected by Cud-
 worth, *Intell. Syst.* p. 704-5. That from Fernelius
 is mentioned by Le Clerc, in his extracts from Cud-
 worth, *Bibl. Chois.* v. p. 109. He has made a small
 mistake when he says, *Un melancholique que les mede-*
cins avoient traite en vain, et qui ne savoit ni Grec, ni Latin,
se mit a parler ces deux langues. Fernelius only says
 that the young gentleman did not understand Greek.

To learn a foreign language so far as to understand
 it when we read or hear it, is a skill which is not to be
 acquired without much time and pains. To speak it
 readily and pronounce it rightly, is still more difficult :
 it is what many persons can never accomplish, though
 they have all the proper helps, as we may see every
 day ; nor can any study and application acquire this
 habit, unless there be an opportunity of conversing
 frequently with those whose tongue it is.

If the apostles on the day of Pentecost had express-
 ed themselves improperly, or with a bad accent as
 most people do, when they speak a living language

which is not natural to them, the hearers, who at that time were not converted to Christianity, would have suspected some fraud, would have taken notice of such faults *, and censured them ; which since they did not, it is to be supposed that they had nothing of that kind to object.

Within forty years after the resurrection of Christ came on the destruction of Jerusalem, a most important event, upon which the credit and the fate of Christianity depended. Christ had foretold it so expressly, that, if he had failed, his religion could not have supported itself. But his predictions were exactly accomplished, and proved him to be a true prophet.

Christ fixed the time also, saying that the days were at hand, and would come before that generation should pass away, and whilst the daughters of Jerusalem, or their children, should be living.

The completion of Christ's predictions has been fully shewed by many writers, particularly by Whitby. To him I refer the reader, on Matth. xxiv. and shall here insert in the notes some † remarks on this part of the subject,

* As the Jews did to Peter, when they said to him, *Thou art a Galilean, and thy speech bewrayeth thee.*

† Our Saviour, foretelling the destruction of Jerusalem, applies to the Jews in a prophetic sense this proverbial saying, *Wheresoever the carcase is, there will the eagles be gathered together*, Mat. xxiv. 28.

The Jewish writers had this maxim among them, that wicked men while they live are to be reckoned amongst the dead : see Drusius on Mat. iv. 4. and viii. 22. see also Luke xv. 32. Eph. ii. 1. 1 Tim. v. 6. But wicked men are spoken of in scripture under this figure with still greater propriety, if for their crimes they were devoted to death, and condemned to it by a divine or human sentence, Gen. xx. 3. By the word *carcase*, Christ means the Jewish nation, which was morally and judicially dead, and whose destruction was pronounced in the decrees of heaven.

In

subject, which Dr Pearce the bishop of Bangor was so kind as to communicate ; observing only that Christ foretold,

1. The total destruction of the city.

2. Of

In Eusebius, E. H. iii. 23. τίθηται is explained by Θω' τίθηται ἀπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἐν ἑσέῃ καὶ τὸ κεφάλαιον λησθήσεται.

Νυνὶ δὲ δημαγωγίῃ ἐν τοῖς ἄνω νεκροῖς. Aristoph. Ran. Act. i. sc. 7. in choro.

See L. Capell. and Grotius on Matth. viii. 22. who says, *Nunc vocantur homines a vera disciplina, quæ animi vita est, alieni.* διὰ ἐ. ἰ. πῇ (ait Clemens Alex. Strom. v.) βαρβαρὸν φιλοσοφίᾳ πλεὺς καλῶσι τοὺς ἐπιστάτας τῶν δογματῶν, καὶ καθυποτάσσουσιν τοὺς τῶν τοῖς πρῶτοις ψυχραῖς. Hausit quoque hæc, ut alia, ab orientis philosophia Pythagoras, τὰς πρὸ Ἰουδαίων δόξας μιμούμενος, ut de eo scribit Hermippus : siquidem καὶ πρὸς τοὺς Ἑβραίους ἀφίκετο, ut de eo ex Diogene scribit Malchus ; unde mos ortus ut his qui cœtu Pythagoreorum essent ejecti, cenotaphia struerentur, quod Hipparcho cuidam factum legimus, &c.

Under the metaphor of *eagles*, which fly swiftly, and seize upon their prey violently, conquerors with their armies, are frequently spoken of in scripture ; Jeremiah, Lament. iv. 19. says, *Our persecutors are swifter than eagles* ; and Hosea, viii. 1. says of the king of Assyria, *He shall come as an eagle against the bouse of the Lord, because they have transgressed his covenant.* Ezekiel, xvii. 3. pronounces a parable under the same figure ; *Thus saith the Lord, A great eagle, with great wings full of feathers, came unto Lebanon, and took the highest branch of the cedar* ; which the prophet thus explains, ver. 12. *Behold the king of Babylon is come to Jerusalem, and hath taken the king thereof.*

Nor must it be forgotten, that when Moses, Deut. xxviii. 49, &c. threatens the Jews with the destruction of their nation, if they would not hearken unto the words of the Lord, the description of the calamities with which he threatens them, answers so exactly in the most material parts to the final destruction of that people by the Romans, that this seems to have been chiefly and principally in the intention of the prophet ; and there the destroying army is spoken of under this very emblem of an eagle ; *The Lord shall bring a nation against thee from far, from the end of the earth, as swift as the eagle flieth ; a nation whose language thou shalt not understand.*

The

2. Of the temple.

3. The coming of false christs and false prophets, magicians, and sorcerers, leading the people to the desarts.

4. Famines.

The sense of the proverb then is this : wheresoever the wicked Jews are, there will the Roman eagles, the destroying armies, follow them ; and whithersoever they fly, ruin and desolation will overtake them.

Christ had been foretelling to his disciples the destruction of the Jewish nation, and the vengeance which he was to take upon them for their obstinate refusal of him and his doctrine. This he expressed by *the coming of the Son of Man* ; and he told them many particulars of what was to happen before, and at that great day of visitation. Among others he acquainted them that there would be some impostors, who should set up themselves for the Christ, or Messiah of the Jews : *Wherefore, says he, if they shall say unto you, Behold he is in the desert, go not forth : behold he is in the secret chambers, believe it not* ; i. e. none but false christs will be found there. The true coming of Christ will be of another nature ; *not with observation*, Luke xvii. 20. not with a display of his person, but of his power in the vengeance which he is to take upon the Jews ; not restrained to the desert or the chambers, not confined to holes and corners, nor to any one part of Judea, but extended through every province of it ; *for as the lightning, says he, cometh out of the east, and shineth even unto the west, so shall also the coming of the Son of Man be*, i. e. as extensive and universal over the land, as the lightning shines ; the comparison being brought in to shew, not so much its swiftness, as its wide extent and compass ; *for wheresoever the carcass, &c.* In St Luke when our Lord had been describing this calamity which was to befall the Jews, his disciples asked him, *Where, Lord ?* where shall this happen ? to which he replied, *Wheresoever the body is, thither will the eagles be gathered together.* If then his words contain any direct answer to the question, they must be understood as pointing out the place and extent of the calamity.

This prophecy was pronounced by our Saviour near forty years, and recorded by St Matthew near thirty years, before the event was to take place. And, for the literal accomplishment of it, we have the authority of Josephus. He was a general on the side of the Jews in the beginning of that war, and a prisoner at large in the Roman army

4. Famines.
5. Pestilences.
6. Earthquakes.
7. Fearful sights, and great signs from heaven.

8. The

my during the rest of it : he was a party concerned in much of the calamity of his countrymen, and an eye-witness to almost all of it. And, besides this, it is to be considered, that if he ever had heard of this prophecy, which it is probable he had not, yet as he was a Jew by religion, and a Jewish priest too, he is therefore a witness not to be suspected of partiality in this case, and was every way qualified to give us an exact history of those times ; which he has accordingly done, by describing very punctually all the particulars of that terrible destruction.

From his account it may be observed, that the Roman army entered into Judea on the east side of it, and carried on their conquests westward, as if not only the extensiveness of the ruin, but the very route, which the army would take, was intended in the comparison of the lightning coming out of the east, and shining even unto the west.

In the course of his history, he gives us a very particular account of the prodigious numbers of such as were slain in Judea properly so called, in Samaria, the two Galilees, and the region beyond Jordan : and he confirms the prophecy of Christ by making a remarkable observation to this purpose, that *there was not any the least part of Judea, which did not partake of the calamities of the capital city*; B. J. v. 3. There, at Jerusalem, the last and finishing stroke was given to the ruin of the church and state ; for after a long and sharp siege, in which famine killed as many as the sword, in which the judgments of heaven appeared as visibly as the fury of man, in which intestine factions helped on the desolation which the foreign armies completed, Jerusalem was at last taken, not then a city, but a confused mass of ruins, affording a sadder scene of calamity than the world had ever seen, and exactly fulfilling the words of Christ, Mat. xxiv. 21. *Then shall be great tribulation, such as was not since the beginning of the world unto this time, no, nor ever shall be.* To which Josephus bears express testimony, and says that *the calamities of all nations from the beginning of the world were exceeded by those which befel his countrymen on this occasion*, B. J. i. 1.

Christ foretold, that Jerusalem should be *encompassed with armies*, Luke xxi. 20. and accordingly it was besieged and taken by the Romans ; a circumstance which had no necessary connection with the revolt

8. The persecution of the Apostles.
9. The apostasy of some Christians.
10. A preservation of the faithful,
11. The spreading of the gospel through the Roman world.

12. The

revolt and conquest of Judea : For at the time when Christ spake this, the Roman governor resided in that city, and had troops there sufficient to keep it in obedience ; whence it was more probable, that Jerusalem would have continued in a quiet subjection to the Romans, whatever troubles might be raised in other parts of the Jewish dominions.

He foretold, that the Roman ensigns, called *the abomination of desolation*, ver. 15. should be seen *standing in the holy place*, or temple : an event not to be foreseen by human skill, because very unlikely to happen. The great care which the Jews took at other times not to defile that holy place, and the small strength which it had to defend them long from the Roman arms, as they had twice experienced in the memory of man, were both circumstances, which, in all human appearance, would have kept them from the rash experiment. And yet, against all probability, they fled to the temple, and there made a last and desperate resistance. Having thus defiled it with their own arms, they made it necessary for the Romans to follow them into the sanctuary ; so that they took it by storm, and of consequence caused their military ensigns to be *seen standing* there.

Christ foretold, Matt. xxiv. 2. that when the temple should be taken, *there should not be left there one stone upon another that should not be thrown down*. And yet the building was so magnificent, that it was esteemed for cost, for art and beauty, one of the wonders of the world ; whence it was natural to expect, that the Romans, according to their usual custom amidst their conquests, would endeavour to preserve it safe and entire. And Josephus, B. J. vi. 2, 4. tells us, that Titus laboured with all his power to save it, but that his soldiers, as if moved *divinely impet*, by a divine impulse, would not hearken to his positive and repeated orders, but set fire to every part of it, till it was entirely consumed ; and then the ruins were removed, and the soil on which it stood was ploughed up, and not one stone left upon another. See Drusius and Calmet on Matt. xxiv. 2. and Lightfoot's *Horæ Hebr.* on the same text, where he quotes for proof of this the *Taanith* of Maimonides,

12. The Roman standards defiling the holy place.

13. The city encompassed with armies, walls, and trenches.

14. The retiring of the Christians to the mountains.

15. The

Maimonides, c. 4. Josephus indeed, in B. J. vii. 1. speaking of the temple, says only that it was demolished, without expressly telling us that the foundations of it were digged up. And yet it seems probable, that some parts at least of those foundations were digged up, from what he says there in the following chapter concerning one Simon. He lived in Jerusalem, in the upper part of it, near to the temple; and, when the city was taken, he endeavoured to escape by letting himself down with some of his companions into a cavern; where, when they had digged but a little way for themselves, he crept out from underground in that very place where the temple had before stood. Therefore either he crept out in that hollow where the foundation had stood; or, if it was in any other part of the temple, the foundations must have been removed there at least where he worked his way through the ground from the outside to the inside of the temple.

To these circumstances we may add the time: *This generation shall not pass away, till all these things be fulfilled*, ver. 34. and again, Mat. xvi. 28. *There be some standing here, who shall not taste of death till they see the Son of Man coming in his kingdom*; pointing out to his hearers, that this train of calamities was not to come upon the Jews immediately, nor yet so late but that some then living should see the accomplishment of his prophecies. The fixing of this circumstance had no connection with any thing which might serve for the foundation of human conjecture.

He also foretold, that *the gospel of his kingdom should be preached in all the world for a witness unto all nations*, ver. 14. before this end of the Jewish state should come; than which no circumstance was less likely in all human appearance to happen, if we consider the time when this prophecy was delivered; for we find that within two days afterwards, as himself foretold, Mat. xxvi. 2, and 31. *all his disciples forsook him and fled* upon his being apprehended. It could not be expected that they who had deserted his person when alive, would adhere to his cause after his death, and with so much steadiness and courage, as to preach a crucified Jesus in spite of all opposition thro' all

15. The greatest tribulation that ever was known.
16. The time when these things should happen.
17. The comparative happiness of the barren women, when a mother killed and eat her own child.
18. Wars and rumours of wars, nation rising against nation, and kingdom against kingdom.
19. The sea and the waves roaring.
20. The dispersion of the captive Jews through all nations.
21. The continuance of the desolation.
22. A shortening of the days of vengeance, for the sake of the Elect.

All which things came to pass.

To bring about this great event, and to certify posterity of its truth, God raised up an illustrious and worthy prince to accomplish it, and an illustrious historian to record it, to record the things of which he was an eye witness, and in which he had borne a considerable share.

Vespasian was lifted up from obscurity to the empire, he was strangely spared, and promoted, and employed by Nero who hated him. If he had not put an end to the civil wars, and to the great calamities of the empire, Jerusalem would not have been destroyed at the time foretold by Christ. *Lucem caliganti reddidit mundo*, says Q. Curtius, speaking most probably of Vespasian, X. 9.

Josephus assured Vespasian that he and his son Titus should be emperors after Nero, and some others, who should reign only a short time, *B. J.* iii. 8. *Unus*

ex

all the nations of the then known earth. And yet this they did with great success, so that St Paul could say to the Colossians with truth, that the gospel was come unto them, as it was in all the world, i. 6.

ex nobilibus captivis Josephus, cum conjiceretur in vincula, constantissime asseveravit fore ut ab eodem brevi solveretur, verum jam imperatore. Sueton. *Vesp.* 5. When Josephus made this declaration there was no appearance of such an event. He says that he had received the knowledge of these things in a dream, which was accounted by the Jews to be a lower degree of prophecy, and to have been sometimes granted to them, after the prophetic *afflatus* had ceased at the death of Malachi. Josephus says that Hyrcanus had been favoured with such kind of revelations. *Ant.* xiii. 12. *Bell. Jud.* 1. 2. He records a prophetic dream of his own, in his *Life*, sect. 42. He mentions also strange deliverances vouchsafed to himself from seemingly unavoidable destruction, *B. J.* iii. 8. He had taken shelter in a cave with forty desperate persons, who were determined to perish rather than to yield, and who proposed to pay him the compliment of killing him first, as the most honourable man in the company. When he could not divert them from their frantic resolution of dying, he had no other refuge than to engage them to draw lots who should be killed, the one after the other, and at last only he and another remained, whom he persuaded to surrender to the Romans. I would not willingly be imposed upon, or impose upon the reader; but I leave it to be considered whether in all this there might not be something extraordinary, as both Vespasian and Josephus were designed and reserved for extraordinary purposes, to assist in fulfilling and justifying the prophecies of Daniel and of our Lord. The same providence which raised up and conducted Cyrus, and preserved the rash *

Macedonian

* I call him rash, because he exposed his own person too much; for his enterprise, though very bold, was perhaps neither rash nor rashly conducted.

Macedonian conqueror from perishing, till he had overthrown the Persian empire, that the prophecies might be accomplished, might take the *Roman emperor* and the *Jewish writer* under a singular protection for reasons of no less importance. The historian was on all accounts a proper person to deliver these things to posterity, and one to whom the Pagans, the Jews, and the Christians could have no reasonable objection. He was of a noble family, he had enjoyed the advantage of a good education, he had acted in the war as a general, he had much learning, singular abilities, a fair character, and a great love for his own country. The service which he has done to Christianity was on his side plainly undesigned, he never gives even the remotest hint that the Jews suffered for rejecting the Messias. His book had the approbation of Vespasian and Titus, Herod and Agrippa *, and of several persons of distinction, and he wanted not adversaries who would have exposed him if he had advanced untruths; so that though in some other points he might have been capable of deceiving, and of being deceived, yet as to the transactions of his own times, he must pass in general for a candid, impartial, accurate writer, and has passed for such in the opinion of the most competent judges.

But though we are indebted to him for several particulars, which surprisingly agree with the predictions of Christ, yet the destruction of the Jewish state rests not upon his single authority, but upon ancient history and general consent, and is a fact which never was questioned.

What Josephus says concerning the outrageous wickedness and strange infatuation of many of the Jews, must

* Contr. Apion, i. 9.

must be true ; the facts related by him sufficiently shew it : but the reason for which he dwells so much on a subject so disagreeable to one who loved his nation, seems to have been this ; he knew not how to account otherwise for God's giving up his own people to such calamities, and seeming to fight against them himself, and he was afraid of consequences which Pagans and Christians would draw from it against the Jewish religion. Cicero, because it served his purpose, had inferred from the calamities which in his days befel the Jews, that they were a nation not acceptable to the Deity. *Stantibus Hierosolymis, pacatisque Judeis, tamen istorum religio sacrorum a splendore hujus imperii, gravitate nominis nostri, majorum institutis, abhorrebat : nunc vero hoc magis, quod illa gens, quid de imperio nostro sentiret, ostendit armis : quam cara diis immortalibus esset, docuit, quod est victa, quod elocata, quod servata. Pro Flacco, 28.* Some would read *serva*. Dr Thirlby conjectured *servit* : and I find it so cited by Hammond, in his notes on Revel. xiii. 5.

In his *Antiquities* he takes too great liberties with sacred history, and accommodates it too much to the taste of the Gentiles, which yet probably he did to recommend his oppressed and unhappy nation to the favour of the Greeks and Romans. There are few of his suppressions, or alterations, or embellishments, for which a prudential reason might not be assigned. In his *History* he shews an instance of his art, in complimenting Titus without saying an untruth ; he relates that Titus engaged with the Jews, who had made a sally and fought desperately, and that Titus himself slew twelve of their bravest men, who headed the rest. He says not how he slew them ; but Suetonius tells us, that Titus, at the siege of Jerusalem, shot twelve
of

of the foremost of the enemies with so many arrows. The circumstances give great reason to suppose that both relate the same story.

Καὶ δώδεκα μὲν αὐτὸς τῶν προμάχων ἀνείκει. *et ipse quidem sternit duodecim adversi agminis propugnatores.* B. J. v. vi. 6.

Novissima Hierosolymorum oppugnatione, duodecim propugnatores totidem sagittarum confecit ictibus. Sueton. Tit. 5.

The history of the Jewish war by Josephus seems to be a commentary upon the prophecies of Christ. Josephus, amongst other particulars, gives a distinct account of the *fearful sights, and great signs from heaven*, which preceded the destruction of Jerusalem, and Tacitus has confirmed the narration of Josephus. If Christ had not expressly foretold this, many who give little heed to portents, and who know that historians have been too credulous in that point, would have suspected that Josephus exaggerated, and that Tacitus was misinformed; but as the testimonies of Josephus and Tacitus confirm the predictions of Christ, so the predictions of Christ confirm the wonders recorded by these historians.

Let us proceed to shew, that the predictions of Christ were extant before the destruction of Jerusalem, before A. D. 70. for this is the important point.

The books and epistles of the New Testament were written by disciples of Christ, or their companions. We cannot suppose that any persons, of whatever abilities, could have forged them after the decease of the apostles, for,

These writings * contain various and numerous incidents of time, place, persons, names, and things; occasional discourses, differences of style, epistles in
answer

* Discourse vi. on the Christian Religion

answer to epistles, and passages cited from those which they answer, directions and observations suited to the state of several churches, seeming contradictions, and real difficulties which might have easily been avoided; things mentioned which worldly considerations would have suppressed, and things omitted which invention and imagination might have supplied; a character of Christ, arising from his words and actions, of a most singular kind, left to its intrinsic merit, and aided by no art; and in the writings of St Paul, sentiments warm, pathetic, and coming from the heart; particularities in each gospel suitable to the character, knowledge, situation, and circumstances of each evangelist, &c. &c.

The forgers of these things, if they were such, must have equalled Father Harduin's * atheistical monks of the thirteenth century, who, according to his fantastical account, in an age of ignorance and barbarity, surpassed in abilities all the ancients and moderns, forged the Latin and Greek authors whom we call classical, and were not only great poets, orators, grammarians, linguists, and knaves, but great mathematicians, chronologers, astronomers, geographers, and critics, and capable of inserting, in their proper places, names and accounts of men, rivers, cities, and regions, eclipses of the sun and moon, Athenian archons, Attic months, Roman consuls, and olympiads, all which happy inventions have been since confirmed by astronomical calculations and tables, voyages, inscriptions, *fasti capitolini*, fragments, manuscripts,

* Harduin's craziness consisted in rejecting what all the world received; the opposite folly to which is the receiving what all the world rejects.

nuscripts, and a diligent comparing of authors with each other.

There is not one page in the New Testament, which affords not internal characters of being composed by men who lived at the time when the things happened which are there related. This is as evident, as it is that the noble English historian, who wrote an account of the troubles in the time of Charles the First, was himself concerned in those transactions. The discourses of Christ, as I have observed elsewhere, are always occasional, and full of allusions to particular incidents. The historical parts of the New Testament, and the travels of Christ and of his apostles correspond with the accounts and descriptions which may be collected from other authors. In the judgment which Pilate passed upon Christ, the rules of the Roman law were observed *. What is accidentally mentioned concerning the behaviour of Felix and Gallio, and some others, agrees with the character which Roman writers have given of them. There are endless particularities of this kind which might be produced. A man of very ordinary abilities, who relates various things of which he has been an ear and an eye-witness, is under no difficulty or pain : but a forger, if he had the abilities of an angel, whose imagination must supply

* M. Huber remarque fort bien, qu'il paroît, par toutes les circonstances du jugement de Pilate, qui toutes les règles du Droit Romain y furent exactement observées ; et que cela peut nous convaincre de la vérité de cette histoire. Des gens du petit peuple parmi les Juifs, tels qu'étoient les Évangélistes, ne pouvoient pas être si bien instruits de cela ; et s'ils ne l'avoient apprise de témoins oculaires, ils n'auroient jamais pu la raconter, comme ils ont fait, sans dire quelque chose qui se trouveroit contraire à l'usage des gouverneurs, dans les provinces Romaines. *Le Clerc*, Bibl. anc. et mod. T. xiii. p. 100. See also *Huber*, Dissert.,

ply him with materials, can never write in such a manner, and if he has tolerable sense, will avoid entering into such a minute detail, in which he must perpetually expose his ignorance and his dishonesty.

Christ began to preach when he was about thirty years of age, and the Jews from his countenance judged him to be more advanced in life *. He chose apostles, some of whom were married, one was employed in a public office, and most were probably as old as himself, if not older. If they had not been cut off by martyrdom, yet few of them, in the course of nature, would have survived the destruction of Jerusalem, A. D. 70. which was about 74 years after the birth of Christ. Ecclesiastical history assures us that St Peter and St Paul died before that time; and Christ had told Peter that he should be put to death in his old age.

History informs us, that St John lived long after the destruction of Jerusalem, and Christ had given an intimation that he should see that event, for he said once to his disciples, *There be some standing here who shall not taste of death till they see the Son of Man coming in his kingdom*; and afterwards, when Peter was desirous to know what should befall John, Christ replied, *If I will that he tarry till I come, what is that to thee?*

St John had seen the three gospels, for he wrote his own as a supplement to them, which appears plainly in the harmony of the Evangelists. He omits these predictions of Christ, though he was present at that discourse, of which omission the most probable reason is, that the other three had mentioned them.

D 2

Matthew,

John viii. 57.

Matthew, Mark, and Luke, relate, that when the Jews came to seize Christ, a disciple drew his sword, and wounded one of them. John alone names him, and says that it was Simon Peter. The cause of their silence is obvious; Peter was living when they wrote, and they suppressed his name for several reasons, but when John wrote, Peter was dead.

The three first evangelists make no mention of the resurrection of Lazarus, perhaps lest the Jews, who had consulted to put him to death, should assassinate him. When St John wrote, it is probable that he was dead, and therefore he gave a particular account of that resurrection.

There is reason to think, that St John also might compose a part at least of his gospel a little before the destruction of Jerusalem, since he speaks of the porches of Bethesda as standing *, v. 2. though this amounts not to a full and conclusive proof, and may be a small inaccuracy of style, or, it may be, those porches remained undemolished.

St Luke ends his history of the Apostles with St Paul's dwelling at Rome for two years, A. D. 65. He mentions nothing farther, and therefore probably wrote the Acts before the death of that apostle: and he refers us to his own gospel, as to a book which he had published before.

Ecclesiastical history † informs us, that Mark's gospel had the approbation of Peter, and that Mark was instructed by him, which opinion seems somewhat favoured by the narration of Peter's fall and repentance. Matthew and Luke say, that he *wept bitterly*: Mark says only

* * * * * *ἔτι δὲ — καλυμμένην.* *ἦν δὲ*, which is in some few copies, is probably the emendation of a critic.

† Euseb. ii. 15.

only, *he wept*, but represents his crime in stronger terms than Luke. Matthew relates at large the commendation and the commission which Christ gave to Peter: *Blessed art thou, Simon Barjona: for flesh and blood hath not revealed it unto thee, but my Father which is in heaven. And I say also unto thee, that thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it. And I will give unto thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven; and whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth, shall be bound in heaven; and whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth, shall be loosed in heaven*, xvi. 17. Mark omits it, viii. 29.

St Peter, who died before A. D. 70. mentioned the approaching ruin of Jerusalem, in the Acts of the Apostles *, and in his own epistles †, as the best commentators agree; and so does St James ‡, and St Paul §§, and the author of the epistle to the Hebrews ¶.

Papias

* “And I will shew wonders in heaven above, and signs in the earth beneath, blood, and fire, and pillars of smoke. The sun shall be turned into darkness, and the moon into blood, before that great and terrible day of the Lord come. And it shall come to pass, that whosoever shall call upon the name of the Lord, shall be saved.” Acts ii. 19.

† “But the end of all things is at hand.—The time is come, that judgment must begin at the house of God. And if it first begin with us, what will be the end of them that obey not the gospel of God? And if the righteous scarcely be saved, where shall the ungodly and the sinner appear?” 1 Pet. iv. 7.

‡ “Go to now, ye rich men, weep and howl for the miseries that shall come upon you.—Be patient, therefore, brethren, unto the coming of our Lord.—For the coming of the Lord draweth nigh.—The judge standeth before the door,” James v. 1.

§ “The Lord is at hand,” Phil. iv. 5. “To fill up their sins always; for wrath is come upon them to the uttermost,” 1 Thess. xi. 16. “The day of the Lord cometh as a thief in the night,” &c. 1 Thess. v. 2. The same event is also perhaps alluded to, 2 Thess. i. 6. &c. and 2 Thess. ii. 2. &c.

¶ “Ye have need of patience that—ye might receive the promise,

Papias conversed with the disciples of the apostles about the beginning of the second century. He speaks of the gospels of *Matthew* and *Mark* as extant, and written by them *.

Justin Martyr, A. D. 150. mentions the gospels as universally received and read in the congregations in his time. He must have conversed with Christians who were old men, and from them have learned that the gospels were extant when they were young. Οἱ Ἀπόστολοι (says he) ἐν τοῖς γενομένοις ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἀπομνημονεύμασιν, ἃ καλεῖται Εὐαγγέλια, ὕτως παρίδωκαν—And again, Ταῦτα ἀπομνημονεύματα τῶν Ἀποστόλων ἀναγνώσκειται. *Apol.* 1. And his citations from the four gospels, from the epistles of *St Paul*, and from the *Revelation*, shew to a demonstration that he had them as we now have them, in the main,

In the interval between A. D. 70. and *Justin*, are the authors called apostolical, as *Clemens*, *Hermas*, *Barnabas*, *Ignatius*. These authors make use of some of the gospels and epistles, and allude to them; which makes them highly valuable, and serviceable to the Christian cause. We cannot suppose that they had the inclination, we may positively affirm that they had not the capacity to forge them. Their own writings prove it.

Barnabas, in his *Epistle*, makes use of *Matthew*, *Luke*, *John*, and the *Epistle to the Romans*.

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For yet a little while, and he that shall come, will come," &c. *Heb.* x. 36.

* *Euseb.* *Eccl. Hist.* iii. 39. *sub finem.*

of *Peter*, 1 *Timothy*, 1 and 3 of *John*, *Revelations*, and particularly from the *Epistle to the Hebrews*. He also speaks of the martyrdom of *Peter* and *Paul*.

In his *second Epistle*, if it be his, there are passages from *Matthew*, *Luke*, 1 *Corinthians*, and *Hebrews*.

Hermas says, i. 2. *Juravit Dominus per Filium suum : Qui denegaverit filium & se—& ipsi denegaturi sunt illum*—from *Matth.* x. 33.

I. 6. *Cum ergo venerit tribulatio, propter divitias suas & negotiationes, abnegant Dominum*—from *Matt.* xiii. 21.

I. 9. *Videte ergo vos qui gloriamini in divitiis, ne forte ingemiscant ii qui egent, & gemitus eorum ascendat ad Dominum*—from *James* v. 4.

Ib. *Qui amatis primos consessus ;* from *Matt.* xxiii.

6. *Melius erat illis non nasci.* from *Matt.* xxvi. 24.

II. Mand. v. *Spiritus sanctus, qui in te est, angustabitur ;* from *Ephes.* iv. 30.

Si resistis Diabolo, fugiet a te ; from *James* iv. 7.

II. Mand. vi. *ὁ ἐν ἡμῖν τὸν κρείον τὸν ἀντάμενον σώσει καὶ ἀπολέσει* from *James* iv. 12.

Such references should have been marked in the editions of the *apostolical fathers*.

In the *apostolical constitutions* also, and in the *recognitions* and the *homilies* of *Pseudo-Clement* there are many passages taken from the New Testament ; but as these books are not so ancient as they pretend to be, I pass them by for the present, and shall pay my respects to them in another place.

The numerous and large citations from the *LXX*, and the New Testament, in the *Constitutions*, are however so far useful, that they help to shew how those places stood in the copies of the fourth century, and perhaps somewhat earlier.

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For yet a little while, and he that shall come, will come."

236.

* *Euseb. Eccl. Hist.* iii. 39. c. 1. *finem.*

of Peter, 1 Timothy, 1 and 2 of John, Revelation and particularly from the *Epistle to the Hebrews*. It also speaks of the martyrdom of Peter and Paul.

In his second *Exotic*, I have taken my material from *Matthew, Luke, Corinthians, and Hebrews*.

Horatius *SAT. I. 2. Juvencus* *Invect. in Fann. cum*
Qui degenerare nunc et a— *ut* *degenerare* *est* *esse*
—from *Motiv. x.* *522*

1. 6. Can you think of any other ways in which the
 & secretions, changes in the body—this is a very

L. 9. *Falsate ergo nos nos proferimus et scimus et fa-*
te imperitiam et qui erant et possunt etiam scire et
*Dominum—*from James v. 1.

6. *Melius erat illis* etc. etc. *imm. Mat. xix. 12.*

II. Mand. v. Spiritus sanctus, qui in te est, ~~in te~~
 habit; from Ephes. iv. 30.

Si resistis Diabolo, fugiet e te; cum Iano II.

II. Mand. vi. ~~44~~ ⁴⁵ ~~in~~ ^{from} ~~James iv. 12~~

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respects to them in another place.

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Ignatius, who in his old age, suffered under Trajan, about A. D. 107, and who was contemporary with the apostles, in his genuine epistles alludes to the gospels of *Matthew*, of *Luke*, and of *John*; *Paul's first Epistle to the Corinthians*, those to the *Colossians*, *Galatians*, *Philippians*, and *Ephesians*, the *first Epistle of Peter*, &c.

Besides the places which are referred to in the margin of the *Patres Apostolici*, I have observed several, upon a cursory perusal, to which, I am sensible, more might be added.

Ignatius ad Ephes. μιμηταὶ ὄντες Θεῷ. from *Ephes.* v. 1.

Ib. ἐν αἵματι Θεῷ. perhaps from *Acts* xx. 28.

Ib. τὴ ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἱατητὸν ἀντιπρόσωπος Θεῷ προσφερὰν ἢ θυτίαν. from *Ephes.* v. 2.

Ib. ii. διαίμητι ὑμῶν. from *Philem.* 20.

Ib. iv. μέλη ὄντας τῷ ᾧ αὐτοῦ. from *Ephes.* v. 30.

Ib. v. εἰ δ' ὡς ἡ δευτέρη προσευχή τοσαύτην ἰσχυρὴ ἔχει. perhaps from *James* v. 16. or *Mat.* xviii. 19, 20.

Ib. ix. —λοιθοὶ καὶ Παῖδες—εἰς εὐχοδομήν— from *Ephes.* ii. 20.

Ib. xiii. τέλος δὲ ἀγάπη. from 1 *Tim.* i. 5.

Ib. xiv. ἄμενοι ἐστὶ σιωπᾶν καὶ εἶναι, ἢ λαλῆσαι μὴ εἶναι καλὸν τὸ διδάσκειν, ἵνα ὁ λέγων σοφῇ. from *Mat.* v. 19. vii. 21.

Ib. xv. ὡς λαμβάνει τὸν Κύριον—perhaps from *Heb.* iv. 12, 13. or *Revel.* ii. 23. or from other places.

Ib. xvii. τοῦ ἀρχαίου τῷ αἵωνι τέτυ. from *John* xiv. 30. and *Ephes.* ii. 2.

Ib. μὴ εὐχαλωσίσθ ὑμᾶς. from *Rom.* vii. 23.

Ib. xix. μυτήρια—ὡς ἔνι ἱερουργίᾳ— from 1 *Tim.* iii. 16.

Ib. xx. ἵνα ἄριστοι κλῶσις. from 1 *Cor.* x. 17.

Ib. xxi. ἱσχασιος ὢν τῶν ἐκεί σκῶν. from 1 *Cor.* xv. 9. or *Mat.* xx. 26, 27.

Ib,

Ib. xii. Ignatius takes notice of *St Paul's epistle to the Ephesians*, and of his martyrdom; and as he was writing to the same church, he often alludes, as you see, to the apostle's letter.

Ad Magnes. i. ἀγάπης, ἥς ὑδὲν προκρίεται. from *1 Cor.* xiii. 13.

Ib. iii. —κωστικήν τάξιν.—perhaps from *1 Tim.* iv. 12.

Ib. v. εἰς τὸν ἴδιον τόπον. from *Acts* i. 25.

Ib. ἴδων χαρακτῆρα. perhaps from *Rev.* xiii. 17.

Ib. vii.—εἰς ῥῆς, μία ἐλπίς—from *Ephes.* iv. 3, 4, 5, 6.

Ib. viii. εἰ κατὰ νόμον ζῶμεν, ὁμολογῶμεν χάριν μὴ εἰληφέναι. from *Gal.* v. 4.

Ib. x. ὑπέβηθε τὴν κακὴν ζύμην τὴν παλαιωθεῖσαν. from *1 Cor.* v. 7.

Ib. xiii. καλενοδωῆτε. εὐδοῦσθαι, a verb used in the New Testament.

Ad Trall. vii. μὴ φουσημεις. a word often used by *St Paul*.

Ib. viii. μηδεὶς [τὶ] κατὰ τὴν πλῆξιν ἔχεται. from *Mat.* v. 23.

Ib. x. —ὥσπερ τινες—λέγουσι—ἐγὼ τί δεδεμαι; τί εὐχομαι θηριομαχῆσαι; &c. from *1 Cor.* xv. 15, 32.

Ib. xi. ἔκ εἰσιν ψυαία Πατρός. from *Mat.* xv. 13.

Ib. xii. ἵνα μὴ ἀδόκιμος εὐρεθῶ. from *1 Cor.* ix. 27.

Ad Roman. ii.—τὴν σωτηρίαν θειῶν. from *2 Tim.* iv. 6.

Ib. iii. τὰ δὲ φαινόμενα πρόσκαιρα τὰ δὲ μὴ βλεπόμενα αἰώνια. from *2 Cor.* iv. 18.

Ib. vi. τί δ' ὠφελεῖται—&c. from *Mat.* xvi. 26. But perhaps this is an interpolation. It is not in the old version.

Ib. vii. ὁ ἐμὸς ἔρως ἐσαύρωται—ὑδὼρ δὲ ζῶν, ὃ καλεῖται ἐν ἐμοί— from *Gal.* vi. 14. *John* iv. 14.

Ib. ix. ἔκτρωμα. from *1 Cor.* xv. 8.

Ad Philadelph. vi.—ἵτι ἐβάρσα πτα—from *2 Cor.* xii. 16.

Ib.

Ib. ix. αὐτὸς ὢν θύρα. from *John* x. 7.

Ib. x. ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ γινόμεναις. from *1 Cor.* xi. 20.

Ad Smyrn. iii. συνέφαγεν ἢ συνέπιν. from *Acts* x. 41.

Ib. iv.—μὴ παραδέχισθαι—from *John* Epist. ii. 10.

Ib. x. τὰ δισμὰ μου—ἐκ ἐκαστοῦ χυθῆς, read ἐκαστοῦ χυθῆς. from *2 Tim.* i. 16.

Ib. ἰδοὶ ὁμᾶς ἐκαστοῦ χυθῆσιν Χριστός. from *Mark* viii. 38. or *Luke* ix. 26.

The *Epistle to Polycarp*, which is the last, is also inferior to the rest : there is some reason to suspect that it is not genuine.

Ad Philadelph. v.—προσφυγὼν τῷ ἁγίῳ, ὡς σαρκὶ Ἰησοῦ, ἢ τοῖς ἀποστόλοις ὡς πρεσβυτέρῳ ἐκκλησίας. *Confugiens ad Evangelium tanquam ad carnem Jesu, et ad Apostolos velut ad Ecclesiae Presbyterium, &c.*

Quæ verba videntur de evangelii et apostolicis scriptis intelligenda ; ita ut hoc velit Ignatius, cognoscendæ divince voluntatis causa, se confugere ad evangelia, quibus crederet non secus ac si Christus ipse in carne, hoc est, in eo statu quo fuit in terris, conspicuus et etiamnum apud homines vivens, eos sermones, qui in evangelii leguntur, ore suo proferret ; tum etiam ad scripta Apostolorum, quos habebat quasi totius Christianæ ecclesiæ presbyterium, sub Christo omnium Episcopo, quod cæterus Christianos omnes, quid credendum sit, doceret. Unde quanti fierent libri sacri Novi Testamenti, hisce temporibus, satis liquet. Addit : Sed et Prophetas amamus, quia ipsi nunciarunt, quæ pertinent ad evangelium, id sperarunt, atque expectarunt. Quæ respiciunt Vetus Testamentum, prout scriptum exstat, nam aliunde Prophetæ Ignatio innotescere non potuerant. Nec leviter prætermittendum, ab eo, primo quidem loco Novi Testamenti scripta, per quæ Christiani sumus, memorari, quasi per fugium suum ; secundo vero Veteris Libros, quia ex iis Novum confirmari potest. Clericus, Hist. Eccl. p. 567.

In

In the same epistle, viii. Ignatius introduces a Jew, saying, *ἐὰν μὴ ἐν τοῖς ἀρχαίοις εὗρω, ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ ἢ πιστεύω. Nisi invenero in antiquis (vaticiniis) Evangelio non credo.* Where see Le Clerc.

Ad Smyrn. v. ὥς ἔκ' ἔπεισαν αἱ προφητεῖαι, ὃδ' ὁ νόμος Μωσίου, ἀλλ' ὡδὲ μέχρι νῦν τὸ εὐαγγέλιον. *Quibus nec prophetiæ persuasero, nec Mosis lex, sed nec Evangelium.* He speaks of heretics, who denied that Christ had a body, and that he really suffered. How were such people to be converted or confuted? By the testimony of the apostles, recorded in the New Testament; of men, who, as Ignatius says, did eat and drink with the Lord, both before and after his resurrection: consequently *Εὐαγγέλιον* in this place means the gospels, the books of the New Testament.

Ib. vii. προσέχεν δὲ τοῖς προφήταις, ἑξαίρετως δὲ τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ, ἐν ᾧ τὸ πάθος ἡμῖν δεδήλωται, καὶ ἡ ἀνάστασις τελεσιώται. *Attendere autem prophetis, præcipue autem Evangelio, in quo passio nobis ostensa, et resurrectio perfecta est.*

Thus the *shorter epistles* of Ignatius allude to the writings of the apostles; but in the *larger epistles*, which are generally supposed to be *interpolated*, the passages of the Old and New Testament are more numerous, and cited more accurately and directly, and sometimes impertinently, as in the *Constitutions*, and introduced with, Thus saith our Lord—Thus says Paul, and Peter, and Luke, and, Thus say the scriptures. The apostolical fathers rather allude than cite; and therefore the hand of the forger discovers itself in these *larger epistles*.

Ignatius wrote his letters when he was condemned, and chained, and guarded, and conducted by soldiers, who were mere brutes, and used him ill; οἱ καὶ ἐνέρξεσθαι χεῖρας γινώσκειν, ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἀδικήμασιν αὐτῶν πολλοὶ μαθητεύομαι.

μαί. *Qui et beneficio affecti, peiores sunt : at ego eorum injuriis magis erudior, or, Christi discipulus fio.* Ad Rom. v. We may justly suppose, and the word *ἐπεγνήμενος* implies it, that the Christians who attended this most venerable bishop and martyr, and resorted to him on his journey to Rome, gave money to his guards, that they might be permitted to converse with him, and to minister to him, and that he might have leave to write and send his letters ; and this small indulgence was granted by those ruffians with an ill grace, and in an insolent manner. Therefore, it is more probable, that the *shorter* epistles should be genuine than the *larger*, with their pomp and parade of passages from the Old and New Testament, which

—*secessum scribentis et otia qucerunt.*

In the *interpolated epistles* of Ignatius *Ad Ephes. v.* λέγει δὲ ὁ Κύριος πρὸς τοὺς ἱερεῖς· ὁ ὑμῶν ἀντίων, ἐμὴ ἀντίων. *The Lord says to the priests, He that heareth you, heareth me, &c.* from *Luke x. 16.* A very suspicious phrase : why does this writer call the disciples priests ?

Ib. xii. ἐγὼ ἐλάχιστος Ἰγνατίου—ἀπὸ τοῦ αἵματος Ἀβελ τοῦ δικαίου ἕως τοῦ αἵματος Ἰγνατίου ἐλάχιστος. *Ego minimus Ignatius—minimus a sanguine Abelis justī usque ad Ignatii sanguinem.* In this application of scripture there is a vanity, under a feigned modesty, which ill suits with this humble and pious martyr, who as yet had not shed his blood.

Ad Magnes. iii. Δανιὴλ μὲν γὰρ ὁ σοφὸς, δωδεκαετῆς, γέγονε καί τοχος τῷ Θεῷ ἑννέαμην. *Daniel enim ille sapiens, quum duodecim esset annorum, spiritu divino afflatus est.* A childish romance ; and what follows is no better.

Ad Philad. iv. οἱ ἄρχοντες πειθαρχεῖτωσαν τῷ Καίσαρι, οἱ στρατιῶται τοῖς ἄρχουσιν. *Principes obediant Cæsari, milites principibus.* This smells of interpolation : Ignatius addresses him—

This

self not to Pagans, but to Christians ; and it may be questioned, whether in his time there were Christian officers and soldiers in the Roman army. See Moyle's Letters concerning the *Thundering Legion*, whose arguments in behalf of the negative are very strong.

Ad Smyrn. v. speaking of heretics, he says, τὰ δὲ ὀνόματα αὐτῶν, ὥστε ἅπαντα, νῦν ἐκ ἔδοξε μοι εἰσγράφαι μὴδὲ γένοιτο μοι αὐτῶν μνημονεύειν, μέχρι ἢ μετανοήσωαν. *Nomina vero eorum, quæ sint infidelia, non visum est mihi [nunc] scribere : et verò absit a me ut eorum mentionem faciam, donec penitentia ducantur.* And accordingly, the genuine Ignatius mentions not, I think, the name of any heretic. But how does this agree with the catalogue of heretics in the interpolated epistle *ad Trallianos*, where he names Simon, Menander, Basilides, the Nicolaitæ, Theodotus, Cleobulus ? The interpolator seems to have been aware of it, and therefore he has slyly inserted a νῦν, νῦν ἐκ ἔδοξε, *at this time I will not name them.* In the shorter epistle we have ἐκ ἔδοξε without the νῦν. Observe that the *nunc* is not in the Latin translation joined to the interpolated epistles ; but it is omitted or dropped by some accident, for it is in the ancient Latin version of the interpolated epistles,—*non est mihi nunc visum scribere.*

Ib. ix. Τίμα, φρεῖν, ψὲ τὸν Θεὸν καὶ βασιλεῖα. ἐγὼ δὲ φημι· Τίμα μὲν τὸν Θεόν, ὡς αὐτὸν τῶν ἄλλων ἢ κύριον. ἐπίσκοπος δὲ, ὡς ἀρχιερεῖα, Θεῷ εἰκόνα φερούσα κατὰ μὲν τὸ ἄρχειν, Θεῷ, κατὰ δὲ τὸ ἱερατεῖον, Χριστῷ. ἢ μὴδὲ τῶντον, τιμᾶς Χρὶς ἢ βασιλεῖα. *My son, says Solomon, honour God and the king : but I say unto you, Honour God, as the Author and the Lord of all ; and the bishop as the high-priest who bears the image of God ; of God, as he is a ruler, and of Christ, as he is a priest. And after him honour the king also.*

The

The author of this commandment, in all probability, was a bishop, but not such a bishop as Ignatius. *The scripture says—but I say—I who am wiser and greater than Solomon.* A very modest speech truly, and much in character, and becoming the meek Ignatius ! Here the bishop is equalled, or rather, is preferred to Jesus Christ ; for Christ is not supposed to be ἀρχων, a *Ruler*, though he be *King of Kings, and Lord of Lords*. After this homage is paid to the bishop, leave is given to the Christians to honour Cæsar. How condescending and gracious, and how well contrived to make the Roman emperors very fond of their Christian subjects ! But this is altogether in the style of the *Apostolical Constitutions*.

Ib. He says to those who had shewed him kindness, ὁ τιμῶν δέσμιον Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, μαρτύρων λήψεται μισθόν. *Qui honorat vinctum Jesu Christi, martyrum accipiet mercedem.* Ignatius would not have spoken thus of himself.

There are in these epistles a multitude of places which agree with the *Constitutions* ; the one certainly transcribes the other, and both are of the same stamp, *ejusdem farinae* *.

Polycarp, in his Epistle to the *Philippians*, supposed to be written about A. D. 107, has passages and expressions from *Matthew, Luke, the Acts, St Paul's Epistles to the Philippians, Ephesians, Galatians, Corinthians, Romans, Thessalonians, Colossians, 1 Timothy, 1 Epist. of John, and 1 of Peter*, and makes particular

* The reader is desired to observe, that these *larger* epistles have been examined and condemned, as *interpolated*, by Usher, Pearson, Hammond, Cotelierius, Is. Vossius, Le Clerc, and many others, to whose objections and arguments I have endeavoured here to add a few more, and shall add something further when I come to speak of Ignatius.

lar mention of *St Paul's Epistle to the Ephesians*. Indeed his whole epistle consists of phrases and sentiments taken from the New Testament. To the references in the margin might be added,

iii. ἦ τις ἐστὶ μήτηρ πάντων ὑμῶν. from *Gal.* iv. 26.

vi. Πάντα ἡμῶν σκοπεῖται, (ὅτι μωροσκοπεῖται) ἢ λήθην αὐτὸν ὕδιν, ἢ τε λογισμῶν, ἢ τε ἐννοιῶν, ἢ τε τι τῶν κρυπτῶν τῆς καρδίας. This is manifestly taken from *Heb.* iv. 12, 13.

The heretics also, who were contemporaries with the apostles and apostolical fathers, bear their testimony to the existence of the New Testament, and most of them had their forged or interpolated gospels and epistles, as knowing that without something of this kind they could not hope to get and retain any followers.

Simon the magician, and his disciples, are said to have composed books for the propagation of their stupid doctrines, and to have ascribed those books to Christ and to the apostles, that they might impose them upon silly people. If so, this was done in opposition to the books of the New Testament, and in imitation of them. The Christians afterwards were even with this reprobate, for they related many an idle story about *him*, and also made him a more considerable impostor than probably he ever was, though he seduced several poor wretches.

The Gnostics admitted some, and rejected other parts of the New Testament.

The Cerinthians received part of St Matthew's gospel, and rejected every thing else; particularly the epistles of St Paul, whom they had in great abomination.

The Ebionites and Nazarenes had a gospel according to the Hebrews, or a Hebrew gospel of St Matthew

Matthew corrupted and interpolated; they had also other forged books bearing the names of apostles.

The Basilidians admitted the New Testament, but with such alterations as they judged proper: and so did the Valentinians.

The Carpocratians made use of the gospel of St Matthew.

See Tillemont *Hist. Eccl.* ii. p. 41, 51, 59, 109, 220, 225, 261. *Quarto Edit.* to which I shall always refer.

These old heretics went about in quest of fools, whom they had the art to turn into madmen:

—*hic homines prorsum ex stultis insanos facit.*

An art, which is not to be reckoned amongst the *deperdita*.

Before the end of the first century, the world was pestered with the disciples of Simon, Menander, Saturninus, and Basilides, concerning whom see Le Clerc, *Hist. Eccl.*

The Basilidians made three hundred and sixty-five heavens, and were better castle-builders than those who gave us schemes of the *seven heavens*, which is a poor inconsiderable number. Basilides required of his followers five years silence; *which was a proper method*, as Le Clerc observes, *to make an experiment of their folly; and indeed he might be sure that the scholar was mad in good earnest, who with a profound submission and silence had paid so long an attendance on a knave that taught and did a thousand absurdities.* Basilides, in all probability, only required this silence from his disciples when they were in his company, and was so great a talker, that he suffered no body else to put in a word. His lectures upon the three hundred and sixty-five heavens could not take up less time than a year.

year, and he would never have ended them, if he had been interrupted, and obliged to answer doubters and cavillers.

The predictions of Christ concerning the calamities of the Jews could not have been inserted as interpolations after the event :

Because they are incidentally placed up and down in the gospels *, by way of parable, or in answer to questions,

* For example :

Mat. v. 5. ' Blessed are the meek ; for they shall inherit the earth.' This was literally fulfilled when the believing Jews returned to their own country, after the destruction of Jerusalem.

x. 23. ' Ye shall not have gone over the cities of Israel, till the Son of Man be come.'

xv. 13. ' Every plant which my heavenly Father hath not planted, shall be rooted up.'

xvi. 28. ' There be some standing here, who shall not taste of death, till,' &c.

xxi. 19. ' Presently the fig-tree withered away.'

xxi. 41. ' He will miserably destroy those wicked men, and will let out his vineyard to other husbandmen,' &c.

xxi. 44. ' On whomsoever it shall fall, it will grind him to powder.'

xxii. 7. ' He sent forth his armies, and destroyed those murderers, and burnt up their city.'

xxiii. 36. ' All these things shall come upon this generation.'

Luke xi. 50. ' That the blood of the prophets—may be required of this generation.'

xiii. 5. ' Except ye repent, ye shall all likewise perish.'

xiii. 9. ' If it bear fruit, well ; and if not, then after that thou shalt cut it down.'

xvii. 24. ' As the lightning—so shall the Son of Man be in his day.'

xix. 27. ' Those mine enemies which would not that I should reign over them, bring hither, and slay them before me.'

xix. 42. ' If thou hadst known, even thou,' &c.

xxiii. 28. ' Daughters of Jerusalem, weep not for me,' &c.

John iv. 21. ' The hour cometh when ye shall neither in this mountain, nor yet at Jerusalem worship the Father.'

xxi. 22. ' If I will that he tarry till I come,' &c.

questions, or on account of some circumstance of time and place bringing on the discourse :

Because the books of the New Testament were received by Christians, and copied, and widely dispersed, and perhaps translated from their first appearance :

Because these predictions in the gospels are alluded to, or the same thing is taught, in other parts of the New Testament :

Because no Jews or Pagans ever reproached the Christians with inserting them, not *Trypho*, not *Celsus* *, not *Porphyry*, not *Julian*. The objections of *Trypho* † are to be found in *Justin Martyr*, those of *Celsus* in *Origen*, those of *Porphyry* in *Holstenius Vit. Porph.* ch. xi. and *Julian's* in his own works and in *Cyril* :

Because there is in them a mixture of obscurity, and needless difficulty, needless if they were forged. Christ foretold the destruction of the city and temple, and the calamities of the Jews, fully and clearly : but being asked when this should be, he gave an answer in a sublime and prophetic style, saying, that the sun should

To these must be added the parallel places from the other gospels, and the prophecy of John the Baptist, Mat. iii. 10. ‘ And now also the ax is laid to the root of the trees ; therefore every tree which bringeth not forth good fruit, is hewn down, and cast into the fire,’ &c.

* Whom some people call a Jew : they might as well call him a Quaker, or a Muggletonian. The man was not even a proselyte of the gate, but a mere Epicurean philosopher, who, if proper gains had been taken with him, might possibly have become a Sadducee :

† *Trypho* had perused the gospels, and says to Justin, ἡμῶν δὲ καὶ τὰ ἐν τῷ λογιῶντι Εὐαγγελίῳ παραγόμενα θαυμάσια ὄντα καὶ μεγάλα ἰστούμενα ἔσται, ὡς οὐκαρμύδεναι μάστιγι δύνανθαι φυλάττει αὐτοὺς· καὶ γὰρ ἐκέλευον ἐν ἰουδαίᾳ αὐτοῖς. Sed et vestra illa in eo, quod vocatis, Evangelio præcepta ita mirabilia et magna esse scio, ut suspicio sit neminem ea posse servare ; mihi enim curæ fuit ut ea legerem. *Dial. cum Trypho.*

should be darkened, and the moon should not give her light, and the stars should fall from heaven, &c. which would not be easily understood, if learned and judicious commentators had not cleared it up; and this he might possibly do to perplex the unbelieving, persecuting Jews, if his discourses should ever fall into their hands, that they might not learn to avoid the impending evil. The believing Jews themselves, notwithstanding this prediction, stood in need of a second admonition, and were divinely warned to fly from Jerusalem, say Eusebius and Epiphanius *. See Euseb. iii. 5. and the notes. So loath are people to leave their own house and home, even when they see destruction at the door :

Because Christ not only foretold the destruction of Jerusalem, but the continuance of that desolation: *Jerusalem*, says he, *shall be trodden down of the Gentiles, till the time of the Gentiles be fulfilled*. Take what interpretation you will, so it be not absurd, and add to it a matter of fact, namely the state of the Jews ever since, and it must be owned that a considerable length of time is implied :

Because Christ declared that these evils should befall them for not knowing the time of their visitation, and for rejecting him; whence it followed, that as long as their rebellion and disobedience continued, the sentence against them would not be reversed.

E 2

If

* Οἱ γὰρ Ἀπόστολοι καὶ μαθηταὶ τοῦ Σωτῆρος ἡρώτων, καὶ πάντες οἱ ἐκ τῆς Ἰουδαίας εἰς αὐτὸν πεπιστευότες, μακρὰν τῆς Ἰουδαίας γῆς γινόμενοι, καὶ τοῖς λοιποῖς ἔθνεσι ἐπισπαγίσα, τὸν κατὰ τῶν οἰκτίρων τὴν πάλιν ἔλθερον διαδραῖναν τότε ἰδομένησαν. Ipsi apostoli ac discipuli Salvatoris nostri, et omnes, qui ex Judæis ad ipsum credentes accesserant, cum procul ab Judæa terra abessent, et reliquis essent immixti gentibus, omnem eorum, qui civitatem incolebant, perditionem atque interitum effugere per illud tempus facile potuerunt. *Euseb. Dem. Evang. vi. 287.*

If it should be said that Christ, as a wise and sagacious man, might foresee the storm,

Ἔσσεσθαι ἡμᾶρ, ὅτ' ἂν πρὸς ὁλώκη Ἰλίου ἴρῃ *

this would be a disingenuous shift to evade a plain truth: Christ would not have acted suitably to his character and usual conduct, and to common prudence, if he had staked his reputation on conjectures; and in the reign of Tiberius there was no appearance of such an event, and much less of the various circumstances attending it, which he foretold. The Romans had no interest to destroy and depopulate a country which was subject to them, and whence they reaped many advantages, and the Jews had not strength to hope for success in a war against them.

If it should be said that Christ took his prophecies from Daniel, his just interpretation of Daniel shews him to be the Messias mentioned by Daniel, since none besides himself at that time had even a tolerable claim to that character: Daniel foretold, that in seventy weeks of years, or four hundred and ninety years, a most holy person should be anointed; that this Messias should be cut off; that a prince should come with an army, and cause the sacrifices to cease, and plant abominable idols in the holy place, and destroy the city and temple, and make the land utterly desolate, and put an end to the Jewish polity, *ch. ix.* But Christ is more explicit and circumstantial than Daniel, and in many respects his prediction was new and altogether his own.

Josephus says, that the *Zealots* trampled under foot all laws divine and human, and made a jest of their own sacred books, and derided the writings of the prophets. ἐγελᾶτο δὲ τὰ θεία, καὶ τὰς τῶν προφητῶν διαμὲς ὡς περ ἀγροβικὰς λογοποιίας ἐχλεύαζον—*divina autem quæque deridebantur,*

* The day will come, when sacred Troy shall fall.

feruntur, et prophetarum oracula ut præstigiatorum commenta subsannabant—*ἢ ᾧ δὲ τις παλαιὸς λόγος ἀνδρῶν, ἐνθα τότε τὴν πόλιν ἀλώσεσθαι, ἢ κατὰφλεγέσθαι τὰ ἅγια νόμῳ πολεμῶ, εἰς τὴν κατὰσκήψῃ, ἢ χεῖρας οἰκείας προμάνωσι τὸ τῷ Θεῷ τέμνος οἷς ὅΤΚ ἀπίστως οἱ ἑλλᾶται διακόνες ταυτοὺς ἐπέδοσαν.* *Vetus enim virorum sermo quidem erat, tum urbem captivam iri, et loca sancta conflagratura jure belli, ubi seditio invaserit, et indigenarum manus polluerint sacratum Deo locum.* *Quibus licet fidem non detraherent Zelotæ, tamen ipsi se eorum rerum ministros præbuerunt.* B. J. iv, 6. This seems to have been a traditionary interpretation of Daniel, a λόγος, a report, and not a written prophecy. But here is a negative which seems to contradict what was said before. It should perhaps be *οἱ ἀπίστως*—or something to the same effect, and the meaning may be, that the impious zealots caused those prophecies to be fulfilled in the destruction of themselves and their nation, which they had ridiculed and disbelieved.

Many of the first Christians, who were Jews dwelling in Judea, sold their lands and possessions. The Gentiles did it not when the gospel came to them, and none of St Paul's Epistles contain any such precept, or intimate any such practice. The Jews acted thus, though not by the command, yet doubtless with the approbation of the apostles, and the most probable reason for it was this; they knew that Christ had foretold the destruction of their country, which should come upon it before that generation were passed away, and therefore they thought it proper, whilst there was opportunity, to improve to the best use their estates, which they should not long enjoy, by relieving their poorer brethren, and by enabling the first teachers to pursue their travels from place to place. Therefore

also when the gospel was spread amongst the Gentiles, the apostles were careful to make collections in their churches for the relief of the poor saints at Jerusalem, since it was just that a provision should be made for those who had given up all for the common good, and at whose charges the gospel was at first preached amongst some of the Gentiles. See *Jos. Mode Disc.* on *Prov.* xxxvii. 7.

We read in the Acts of the Apostles that the Jews suborned and set up false witnesses against Stephen, who said, *We have heard him say, that this Jesus of Nazareth shall destroy this holy place, and shall change the customs which Moses delivered us.* Now though these were calumniators, yet probably something had been said, which gave occasion to the accusation, and St Stephen had been heard to mention the approaching destruction of Jerusalem, and the inferiority of the ceremonial to the moral law. See Grotius.

This is one reason why the unbelieving Jews hated the disciples of Christ so implacably, because *they did not prophesy good concerning the nation, but evil.*

Μάρτι κακῶν, ὃ ἀπέλεῖ μοι τὸ κτῆσιν εἶπας.

The author of the *Recognitions of Clemens*, introduces St Peter telling the Jews that the temple would be destroyed, and adds, well enough, that upon this all the priests were highly enraged, i. 64.

The destruction of the Jewish nation is not mentioned by Jesus Christ, as a threatened calamity which might be averted by repentance, but as a decree which was fixed and unalterable. *If thou hadst known, &c. but now they are hid from thine eyes.—Heaven and earth shall pass away, but my words shall not pass away:* that is, sooner shall heaven and earth pass away, than my predictions pass away unfulfilled. The best and the
most

most probable method, by which a Jew might secure himself from being involved in this national evil, was to embrace Christianity: for which, amongst other reasons, St Paul says to the Jews, *Beware therefore lest that come upon you which is spoken of in the Prophets: Behold, ye despisers, and wonder, and perish; for I work a work in your days, a work which ye shall in no wise believe, though a man declare it to you*, Acts xiii. 40. which words of St Paul, and of the Prophets, as they are applied by him, seem plainly to intimate the approaching ruin of that people. *Apud Lucam Paulus aptime hæc verba aptat ad excidium simile eventurum per Romanos*. Grotius ad *Habac. i. 5. Patet proprie de Chaldeis agi*, Habak. i. 5, 6. *Paulus tamen hoc opus paradoxum considerans tanquam coherens cum aliis gravissimis Dei judiciis, processu temporis vulgantis in eandem gentem,—id ad judicia et mala, quæ Judæos sui temporis manebant, transtulit*. Vitringa ad *Jesai. x. 12*. See him also on *Isa. xxviii. 21*. and Hammond on Acts xiii. 40.

These things amount to an evidence which cannot reasonably be resisted:

—*ita res accendunt lumina rebus.*

The ancient Christians saw it plainly, and insisted upon it strongly *, as upon a satisfactory proof of the truth of Christianity; and the proof is as evident now as it was then. It highly deserves the serious considera-

tion

* Συζητοῦντες δὲ τίς τὰς τῷ Σωτῆρι ἡμῶν λέγουσιν ταῖς λαμπραῖς τῷ Κοινητοῦ ταῖς περὶ τῷ πατρὶς πολέμῳ, πῶς ἐκ αὐτῶν ἀποκαταστάσονται θύαντες ἑαυτοὺς καὶ ὑπερβῶντες παραδοῖναι τὴν πρόνοιαν τὴν καὶ πρὸ ἡμῶν ἀπολογίαν; Quod si quis Servatoris nostri verba cum iis compareret, quæ ab eodem scriptore de universo bello commemorata sunt, fieri non potest quin admiretur præscientiam ac prædictionem Servatoris nostri, eamque vere divinam et supra modum stupendam esse fateatur. *Euseb. Hist. Eccl. iii. 7.*

tion of those who doubt or disbelieve. Whosoever is of a studious and inquisitive disposition, and not of a sanguine complexion, has probably known what it is to doubt ; and has perhaps been offended at certain writers, who are incapable of owning or of feeling a difficulty, and who convince none, except those that stand in no need of conviction, and to some of whom it might be said, *Urbem proditis, dum castella defenditis* : but here is a prophecy, and here is a completion, to which, if we can make no reasonable objection, we ought to admit the gospel of Jesus Christ, and to endeavour to know, and to do his sacred will, accounting this to be the best foundation of our present hopes, and of our future happiness.

If the illustrious and most important prophecy which I have considered, and some others which shall be mentioned, have been evidently delivered, and evidently accomplished ; and if the miracles of Christ and of his apostles may be proved, as I shall endeavour to shew ; it is a fair consequence, that Christianity is a true religion, and that it cannot be made false, or ambiguous, by any arguments drawn from the notions, or from the behaviour of believers after the times of the apostles.

Much may be said, and something shall be offered, in behalf of the fathers and Christians of the three first centuries, who suffered so greatly for so good a cause, and whose abilities, if they are over-valued by some, are as much depreciated by others. No Christian would willingly give them up in any point, where there is room to defend them : but the imperfections and mistakes from which they were not free, (and who is free ?) and their credulity in some things, and in
ages

ages which were not critical, and a kind of credulity, to which an honest man, as such, is more liable than a crafty impostor, can never invalidate the proofs internal and external of the truth of Christianity.

The confirming and settling these great points, upon which our faith is founded, without a view to any particular systems and controversies, as it is the most agreeable employment to an ingenious mind, so is it usually the most disinterested of all occupations. Whosoever is resolved to employ his hours and his labour in this manner, should consider himself as one who lays out his fortunes in mending the high-ways: many are benefited, and few are obliged. If he escapes obloquy, it is very well:

—*Triumpho, si licet me latere tecto abscedere.*

I have only this to add concerning the present subject, that Christ having said of the city and temple, *One stone shall not be left upon another*, learned men have taken pains to shew that this was exactly and literally fulfilled, either under Vespasian, or under Adrian, or in the time of Julian.

If any one should be of opinion that they have not proved this point, I desire he would observe, that the words are proverbial and figurative, and only denote utter ruin and desolation, and would have been truly accomplished, though every single stone had not been overturned; as a house or city is said *κατασφηνισ*, when it is destroyed, though its foundations be not digged up.

Malachi, foretelling the destruction of Jerusalem, says, *The day cometh that shall burn as an oven, and all the proud, yea, and all that do wickedly shall be stubble: and the day that cometh shall burn them up, saith the Lord*
of

of Hosts, that it shall leave them neither root nor branch, iv. 1. This was truly accomplished, though every unconverted Jew did not perish in that general calamity. Proverbial sayings are not mathematical axioms.

Eusebius, mentioning the prophecy of Micah, *Zion shall be plowed as a field*, iii. 12. says, Εἰ γὰρ τι δύνασαι ἢ ἡ ἡμετέρα ἱστορία, καθ' ἡμᾶς αὐτὸς τὴν πάλαι βυωμένην Σιών ζεύγας βούν ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων ἀνδρῶν ἀρμένην ὀφθαλμοῖς παρειλήφαι, ἢ τὴν γε Ἱερουσαλήμ, ὡς αὐτὸ γέ φησι τὸ λόγιον; ὁπωροφυλαχίᾳ δίκην ἀπολειφθῆναι, ἐν πάλαι καλᾶσαν ἱερῆα. *Quod si quidquam nostra quoque historia valet, nostris ipsorum temporibus, ullam antiquitus celebratam Sion junctis bubus a Romanis viris arari, nostris oculis inspeximus, et ipsam Hierusalem, quemadmodum ipsum hoc ait oraculum, instar pomorum custodiæ desertæ, ad extremam redactam solitudinem.* Dem. Evang. v. 273. Eusebius was Bishop of Cæsarea, and lived near enough to have frequent opportunities of viewing the ruins of Jerusalem, and in them the completion of Christ's predictions. The words ἡ ἡμετέρα ἱστορία mean, *the knowledge and the testimony of what we have seen ourselves*; and the Latin tongue has no single word which exactly answers to this sense of ἱστορία. Herodotus begins his book thus, Ἡροδότου Ἀλικαρνασσοῦς ἱστορίης ἀπόδεξις ἥδε, which James Gronovius translates, *Herodoti Halicarnassensis curæ demonstratio hæc est.* But this interpretation stands in need of another. Kuster thus explains the place, *Notandum est ἱστορίαν non solum denotare historiam, sive rerum gestarum narrationem, vel descriptionem; sed etiam, et quidem proprie, cognitionem rerum quas vel oculis ipsi lustravimus, vel ex aliis sciscitando didicimus; vel studium res varias, eo, quo diximus, modo cognoscendi. Et quoniam primi et antiquissimi Historici vix alias res memorie prodere poterant, quam*

mi

quas vel ipsi vidissent, vel ex aliis sciscitati essent, hinc recte et proprio sensu dicebantur isopini. Postea vero latius, ut fieri solet, extensâ vocis ejus significatione, etiam quicumque alii rerum gestarum scriptores eodem nomine simpliciter appellari cœperunt. Proœmium Historiæ Herodoteæ Latine sic verterim : Rerum ab Herodoto Halicarnassensi curiose observatarum specimen hoc est. Vel per longiorem periphrasin : Curiositatis, quam Herodotus adhibuit, in rebus, quas narrat, vel lustrandis, vel sciscitandis, specimen, vel argumentum, hoc est.

Le Clerc thinks that *ισοπινος ἀνὸδός* may be rendered, *Quod in historia præstitit*. But, however, the observations of Kuster upon the word *ισοπίν* are just and true. See *Le Clerc*, Bibl. A. & M. V. 385. *Ἡροδότου ἰσοπίνος ἀνὸδός ἡδε, ὡς μὲντε.*—*Herodotus res a se observatas et investigatas edidit, ut neque, &c.*

I now proceed to make some remarks on prophecy in general, and then on the prophecies of the Old Testament relating to our Saviour.

That God foreknows even all the future actions of men, is what the holy scriptures most evidently suppose and prove, and what the bulk of mankind in all ages have believed. This opinion arose probably, not so much from arguments drawn from the Divine perfections, as from experience, tradition, and revelation. It appears in sacred history, that God Almighty from the most ancient times revealed himself to men by foretelling future events, which is prophecy. The uses of prophecy, besides gradually opening and unfolding the things relating to the Messiah, and the blessings which by him should be conferred upon mankind, are many, and great, and manifest.

1. It

1. It served to secure the belief of a God, and of a providence.

As God is invisible and spiritual, there was cause to fear that in the first and ruder ages of the world, when men were busier in cultivating the earth, than in cultivating the arts and sciences, and in seeking the necessities of life, than in the study of morality, they might forget their Creator and Governor; and therefore God maintained amongst them the great article of faith in him, by manifestations of himself; by sending angels to declare his will; by miracles and by prophecies. These were barriers against Atheism.

2. It was intended to give men the profoundest veneration for that amazing knowledge from which nothing was concealed, not even the future actions of creatures, and the things which as yet were not. How could a man hope to hide any counsel, any design, or thought from such a being?

3. It contributed to keep up devotion and true religion, the religion of the heart, which consists partly in entertaining just and honourable notions of God and of his perfections, and which is a more rational and a more acceptable service than rites and ceremonies.

4. It excited men to rely upon God, and to love him, who condescended to hold this mutual intercourse with his creatures, and to permit them to consult him, as one friend asks advice of another.

5. It was intended to keep the people to whom God revealed himself, from idolatry, a sin to which the Jews would be inclined, both from the disposition to it which they had acquired in Egypt, and from the contagion of bad example. The people of Israel were strictly forbidden to consult the diviners, and the gods, of other nations, and to use any enchantments and wicked

wicked arts ; and that they might have no temptation to it, God permitted them to apply to him and to his prophets, even upon small occasions ; and he raised up amongst them a succession of prophets, to whom they might have resort for advice and direction. These prophets were revered abroad, as well as at home, and consulted by foreign princes, and in the times of the captivity they were honoured by great kings, and advanced to high stations.

Man has a strong desire to look forward, and to know things to come. This desire, if it be discreetly governed, is natural and innocent, and there are several things which it would be of great temporal benefit and advantage to foresee. For example : Man would be glad to know how he may shun a future evil. Thus Noah was warned to build an ark, in which he and his family should be saved from the flood : thus Lot was commanded to fly from Sodom, with his wife and daughters : thus David was told to escape from a strong hold where he dwelt, and afterwards from Keilah : thus, in the Pagan world, Socrates, as his disciples Plato and Xenophon affirm, had a dæmon or good genius, who never exhorted him to any thing, but dissuaded him from such things as would prove hurtful ; by which secret warning he is said often to have preserved himself and his friends, and to have given them advice, which, if they followed not, they constantly found cause to repent. See a dissertation of Olearius in Stanley's *Historia Philosophice*, and Le Clerc *Bibl. Chois.* xxii. p. 426. xxiii. p. 226. and *Silo. Philol.* c. iii. Olearius and Le Clerc believed that Socrates had such a dæmon, and I confess myself so far a fanatic, as to incline to the same opinion, but without blaming those who are of another mind.

When

When Socrates, just before he expired, ordered his friend to offer up a cock to Æsculapius, it is possible that he was delirious, through the poison which he had taken, as a learned and ingenious physician observed to me. Scribonius Largus says, *Cicutam ergo potam caligo, mentisque alienatio, & artuum gelatio insequitur: ultimoque præfocantur, qui eam sumserunt, nihilque sentiunt.* Compos. 179.

To this head belong sundry prophecies containing a double fate, if you will permit the expression, which should be accomplished according as men would act. Thus Jeremiah told the kings and the people of Judah, that if they would repent, they should be prosperous; if not, they should be destroyed: And to Zedekiah he privately declared; *Thus saith the Lord of Hosts, If thou wilt assuredly go forth to the king of Babylon's princes, then thy soul shall live, and this city shall not be burnt with fire, and thou shalt live, and thy house. But if thou wilt not go forth to the king of Babylon's princes, then shall this city be given into the hand of the Chaldeans, and they shall burn it with fire, and thou shalt not escape out of their hand. Obey, I beseech thee, the voice of the Lord which I speak unto thee: so shall it be well with thee, and thy soul shall live.*

Thus Achilles in Homer is represented as having a twofold conditional event declared to him; if he returned home, he was to prolong his days, but to live and die in obscurity; if he continued in the army, he was to be cut off in the flower of his youth, but to obtain everlasting honour; upon which he preferred glory to length of life.

Μήτηρ γάρ τέ μη φησὶ θεῶ, Θέτις ἀργυρόπεζα,
Διχθαδίας κῆρας φερέμεν θανάτοιο τέλοσδε·

Ei

Εἰ μὲν κ' αὐτὸς μένων Τρώων πόλιν ἀμφιμάχουμαι,
 ὦλετο μὲν μοι γόσος, ἀτὰρ κλέος ἄφθιτον ἔσται·
 Εἰ δέ κεν οἴκαδ' ἵκοιμι φίλην ἐς πατρίδα γαῖαν,
 ὦλετό μοι κλέος ἐσθλόν, ἐπὶ δὴρὸν δέ μοι αἰὼν
 ἔσσειαι, ὃδὲ κέ μ' ὦκα τέλος θανάτου κιχέη.

II. I. 410.

The same poet tells us that Polyidus, a diviner, assured his son Euchenor, that, if he stayed at home, he should fall sick and die; and if he went to Troy, he should be slain in battle: upon which the youth chose the latter fate.

Ἦν δέ τις Εὐχήνωρ, Πολυῖδου μάντις υἱός,
 ὅς ῥ' αὖ εἰδώς κῆρ' ὅλοσιν, ἐπὶ νηὸς ἕβαινε·
 Πολλὰ κ' γάρ οἱ ἔειπε γέρον ἀγαθὸς Πολυῖδας,
 Νῦν δ' ὑπ' ἀρβανίῃ φθίσθαι οἷς ἐν μεγάροισιν,
 ἦ μὲν Ἀχαιῶν νηυσὶν ὑπὸ Τρώεσσι δαμῆναι.

II. N. 663.

Thus the Pagans had the same notion with that which is mentioned in Scripture, of a double destiny, depending on human choice.

Again: Man would be glad to know that he shall obtain a future good. Hope is one of the greatest comforts that poor mortals have in this world; but a certain foresight of prosperity produces a more solid joy, and a firmer support. God made some favourable predictions to Noah. He promised a multitude of blessings to Abraham, relating to him, to his family, and to his posterity. When Hagar was driven from her home, she and her son, and cast out into the wide world, an angel comforted her, and assured her that her son should be the father of a great nation. God repeated the same promises to Isaac which he had made to Abraham. He revealed himself to Jacob, when he was forced to fly from his father's house, and gave

gave him assurances of support and protection. He foretold to *Moses*, that by him he would deliver the people of Israel, and to *Joshua*, that he should be victorious in all his wars, and to *David* that he should be king of Israel, and that the kingdom should continue in his family. *Jeremiah* comforted *Baruch* in his affliction with this prophecy, *Thus saith the Lord, I will bring evil on all flesh, but thy life will I give thee for a prey in all places whithersoever thou goest*; xlv. 5. He himself, who was a man of sorrows, and lived in calamitous times, received this consolation from God, *I am with thee to save thee, and to deliver thee*. He also received an order from God to say to *Ebedmelech* the *Æthiopian*, *I will bring evil upon this city, but I will deliver thee in that day, saith the Lord, and thou shalt not be given into the hand of the men of whom thou art afraid: for I will surely deliver thee, and thou shalt not fall by the sword, but thy life shall be for a prey unto thee, because thou hast put thy trust in me; saith the Lord*. In the New Testament we find that *St Paul*; on some occasions, had a promise of deliverance out of the hands of his enemies. Our Saviour prophesied evil, that is, temporal evil, to all his disciples, and told them, that they should be exercised with sufferings and afflictions; but to compensate this, he promised them in the present world peace of mind, and joy in the Holy Spirit, and the Divine assistance, and in the world to come, eternal happiness.

It must have been a great satisfaction to the illustrious persons whom we have mentioned, and to others recorded in sacred history, that they were secure of the Divine favour and protection. This must have given them courage and constancy under all the difficulties of life, and have enabled them to look danger and

and distress in the face. The Greek poet describing Ulysses as an example of prudence, patience, resolution and presence of mind under a variety of trials, supposes that he had not only the assistance of Pallas, but a prediction from Tiresias, that he should at last return home, and subdue his domestic enemies, and reign happy over his happy subjects, and come to a good old age. *Odys.* A. 90.

To receive predictions of future unavoidable evils would be a curse rather than a blessing, and in the scriptures, when such predictions are delivered, it is by way of punishment. Thus God foretold to Eli all the evil which he would bring upon his family, and the prophets denounced upon some occasions the calamities which should befall some wicked people, and the untimely death which they should not escape.

To know future blessings of which we shall partake, and to receive an admonition how we may avoid an impending evil, are favours which men would often be glad to receive; and these favours were granted to the people of God in ancient times and ruder ages, for several reasons which we have enumerated but when by his Son he had introduced a purer and sublimer religion, he no longer continued, under the evangelical dispensation, to inform men of such temporal events. It is enough for a Christian to know that he may secure to himself everlasting happiness by his obedience. As the great things relating to the next state were more clearly revealed, the smaller things relating to this world, and to its frivolous concerns, were shut up in obscurity.

The knowledge of the things which will befall us, and our parents, and children, and friends, how long we and they shall live, and when and how we shall

die, are secrets which God has concealed from us, and which in wisdom and kindness he has concealed from us. Sometimes prosperous events come most agreeable when they are least expected, and it would be a sad thing to anticipate all our griefs, and to be miserable before hand.

And yet such has been the disposition of men in almost all ages, that many have had an intemperate desire of this knowledge, which gave rise and encouragement to wicked arts and to vile impostures. History, both ancient and modern, informs us of this, and affords us several examples of princes, statesmen, politicians, who have had little or no religion, who have been mere atheists both in principles and in practice, as Tiberius, the Cardinals Richelieu and Mazarin, and others, who yet were very credulous in this way, with all their free-thinking, and gave great heed to divination, and to predictions made by pretenders to those arts; so that irreligion and superstition are not at all inconsistent, and he who believes no God, may believe in evil spirits, or unknown powers, or fatal influences of the heavenly bodies. Pliny the elder, who had atheistical notions, yet says of earthquakes, that the mischief which they portend is as great as that which they cause, if not greater, and that the city of Rome was never shaken with one, which did not forebode future evil. *Nec vero simplex malum, aut in ipso tantum motu periculum est; sed par aut majus ostento. Nunquam urbs Roma tremuit, ut non futuri eventus alicujus id prænuncium esset.* L. II. lxxxvi. p. 113:

Il n'y a rien de si commun, que de voir les Incrédules entêter de l'Astrologie Judiciaire, et persuader que les Magiciens font des choses qui sont au dessus de l'ordre de la nature. Par exemple, on accuse deux grands ministres

ministres d'Etat, dont les actions ne nous laissent pas croire que la foi en Dieu fût une de leurs plus grandes vertus, d'avoir crû tous deux les predictions des Astrologues; et l'un d'eux, de s'être persuadé qu'un homme qui vomissoit diverses liqueurs, le faisoit par le moyen de la Magie. "Le Cardinal de Richelieu," dit Vittorio Siri, *Mem. Rec. T. viii. p. 669*: "consultoit outre l'Astrologie, toute sorte de divinations, jusqu'à des femelettes; dont la science consiste en des vapeurs de Mere, qui leur font predire par hazard quelque événement fortuit. Il étoit si credule qu'il attribuoit à l'operation du Démon l'art de jetter par la bouche toutes sortes de liqueurs, après avoir bû de l'eau, comme le faisoit un Charlatan Italien. Mazarin n'étant pas encore Cardinal, ayant éclaté de rire à un discours si simple, pensa perdre sa faveur par là; et le Cardinal irrité de cet éclat de rire, par lequel il jugea que Mazarin se moquoit de lui, lui dit ironiquement, qu'il n'étoit pas Monsieur Mazarin qui avoit une profonde étude et une exacte connoissance de tout. Mazarin repliqua tout soumis, qu'en donnant cinquante pistoles, que le Charlatan demandoit pour enseigner son secret, on verroit si l'operation du Démon s'en méloit: Mazarin regardoit toutes les divinations, comme des sottises, excepté l'Astrologie, dont il étoit fort entêté, quoiqu'il feignît le contraire: Lorsque Madame Mancini sa sœur mourut, et ensuite la Duchesse de Mercœur sa Niece; comme il eut vû par-là accomplie la prediction, qu'un Astrologue en avoit faite à Rome, par écrit longtems auparavant, il en devint extraordinairement triste et mélancholique; non par tendresse pour ses parens, mais parceque ce même Astrologue avoit fixé le tems de sa mort à un terme qui s'approchoit. Il en perdit l'appetit, et demeura plusieurs nuits sans dormir."

On sait aussi que l'Empereur Julien, qui n'avoit pû ajouter foi aux prophesies de l'Ancien et du Nouveau Testament, étoit excessivement adonné aux augures, et aux présages que l'on tiroit des entrailles des victimes, et les Payens mêmes l'en ont repris. Voyez Ammien Marcellin, l. xxv. c. 5.

Je pose en fait que ces sortes de choses sont aussi difficiles à croire si on les considère en elles-mêmes, que les mystères et les miracles de la Religion Chrétienne. Mais les Incrédulés y ajoutent foi, pendant qu'ils refusent de croire à l'Evangile ; parce que ces sortes d'opinions n'ont aucun rapport avec la conduite de la vie, et ne sont nullement incompatibles, comme la Morale Chrétienne, avec leurs mauvaises habitudes. Le Clerc De L'Incrédulité, Part I. ch. i. p. 32.

It is a question of importance, whether there has ever been in the Pagan world such a thing as *divination*, or a foreknowledge of things. The strongest argument against it is contained in Isaiah (ch. xli.) where Almighty God foretelling many great events, particularly the raising up of Cyrus to destroy the Babylonian monarchy, and to deliver the Jews from captivity, declares that he alone can discover such things, and appeals to these predictions, as to proofs of his divinity, and evident arguments that there is no God besides him. *Produce your cause, saith the Lord ; bring forth your strong reasons, saith the King of Jacob. Let them bring them forth, and shew us what shall happen : let them shew the former things what they be, that we may consider them, and know the latter end of them ; or declare us things for to come. Shew the things that are to come hereafter, that we may know that ye are gods : yea, do good, or do evil, that we may be dismayed and behold it together.*

together. Behold ye are of nothing, &c. And again : I have declared the former things from the beginning ; and they went forth out of my mouth, and I shewed them ; I did them suddenly, and they came to pass. Because I knew that thou art obstinate, and thy neck is an iron sinew, and thy brow brass : I have even from the beginning declared it to thee : before it came to pass I shewed it thee ; lest thou shouldst say, Mine idol hath done them, and my graven image, and my molten image hath commanded them, &c. xlviii. and more to the same purpose. Hence it has been concluded that there never was such a thing as fore-knowledge in the Pagan world, a conclusion too large and absolute to be inferred from the premisses.

Hinc possunt egregie confutari, qui putant frequentissime apud Ethnicos futura a Cacodæmonibus prænunciata ; quod hic a nemine, nisi a se, fieri posse statuat Deus. Pleraque omnia illa oracula, quæ leguntur apud veteres Græcos, aut numquam sunt edita, aut ab hominibus pronunciata, ut viri docti satis ostenderunt, et præsertim vir eruditus Antonius Van Dale. Stepius hic reperitur provocatio Dei, ne levis res prætereat, sed altius in animum descendat, præsertim idololatrarum Judæorum. — Imo verò, dixissent Græci, multa habemus oracula — Sed Propheta reposuisset metas fraudes fuisse hominum, qui aut ambiguis responsis consultares eludebant, vel conjecturæ de rebus futuris temere judicabant, quam postea arguebat eventus. Si certe credidisset Cacodæmones ipsos fudisse oracula, aliter plane locutus esset, cum sciret homines ab ejusmodi malis spiritibus non difficulter potuisse falli, nec plebeculam eorum responsa a responsis ipsius Dei satis posse discernere. — Non ita loquerentur qui fidem habent historiis Ethnicorum de ostentis et prodigiis, quæ potentia Cacodæmonum verè contigisse volunt ; ex

eorum enim sententiâ magna et memorabilia fuissent malorum spirituum per totum terrarum orbem opera. Sed Prophetæ longe malumus credere, quam ejusmodi hominibus.—Clericus *ad* Isaiam. To whose remarks we might add, that the scriptures, though they seem in many places to allow that evil spirits may work miracles, yet no where suppose or intimate, that they can predict the future actions of men, except perhaps in *Acts* xvi. 16. and there it is not necessary that such prophecy should be meant. In *Deut.* xiii. it is said, *If there arise amongst you a prophet, and giveth thee a sign or a wonder,—saying, Let us go after other gods,—that prophet shall be put to death.* But this seems not so much intended to declare that such false prophets should be able to shew signs and work miracles, as to secure the people against idolatry; and therefore God says, *If a man endeavours to seduce you to idolatry, put him to death, even though he should give you signs and wonders.* Besides, the sign, whether real or pretended, might be rather of the miraculous than of the prophetic kind, and it could not be the prediction of a remote event, because that would not serve an impostor's purpose. The same remark may be applied to the *false prophets* in *Mat.* xxiv *μάρτυς*, and *ῥήσις*, who should shew signs and wonders, but whose predictions and promises should be confuted by the event.

Prophecies, in one respect, seem to carry with them surer marks of proceeding from God than miracles: for spirits, good or evil, may, by their own natural strength, and without God's immediate assistance, perform things surpassing human abilities (which to men are miracles) unless God restrain them; but it seems altogether beyond the power of a created, finite, limited being to look into futurity, and to foresee the actions

actions and behaviour of free agents, who as yet are unborn ; this is an act, which probably implies a power equal to creation and preservation, and to upholding the universal system, and therefore prophecy must be the gift of God ; and an angel, or an evil dæmon, if he foretells such remote events, must be inspired himself, or must get his knowledge from divine prophecies ; or else what he delivers must be by a conjectural skill, in which he may perhaps sometimes, in some general things, aim right, and be able to form a better guess and judgment than mortal men, having larger views and longer experience. If he should have skill to foretell inclement seasons, droughts, tempests, inundations, pestilences, earthquakes, famines, fertility of the earth, plentiful harvests, &c. yet to know what good and evil shall befall the unborn grand-children of *Caius* and *Titius*, how they shall behave themselves, and how they shall spend their days, lies in all probability far beyond the sagacity of any creature.

In the book of *Tobit*, the angel Raphael says to *Tobias*, *Fear not, for she [Sarah] is appointed unto thee from the beginning, and thou shalt preserve her, and she shall go with thee : moreover I suppose that shee shall bear thee children*, vi. 17. Here is an angel's conjecture, which was fulfilled, as the writer takes care to inform us, xiv. 12.

Whosoever he was who wrote the history of *Tobit*, his design seems to have been to draw the character of a pious and worthy man, who on account of his piety fell into great distress, and who, after having borne many calamities with resignation and constancy, was restored to prosperity, and led a long and happy life. He had a wife, pious and virtuous like himself, but once or twice a little too querulous, and a son, who

was an amiable youth, and a dutiful child to his parents. Angels good and evil are introduced *, with a sufficient quantity of the marvellous †. The name itself of *Tobit* seems to be feigned, for *Tôb* in Hebrew means *bonus*. There are also other feigned names in this drama, concerning which see *Grotius*. Lastly, both the heroes of the story are very long lived; the father lived 158, and the son 127 years. All this has the air of a pious fiction, and the author seems to have proposed to himself to imitate the book of *Job*.

Virgil makes the harpy say, *Æn.* iii. 251.

*Quæ Phæbo Pater omnipotens, mihi Phœbus Apollo
Prædixit, vobis Furiarum ego maxima pando.*

Where Servius remarks, *Notandum Apollinem, quæ dicitur, ab Jove cognoscere.* *Æschylus* *Ἰερ.*

—ταῦτα γὰρ παλιν

Ζῶς ἐγκαθίει Λοξία Διοπίσματα.

—hæc namque pater

Jupiter immittit Appollini oracula.

And :

Πατὴρ ἐφορήτης ἐστὶ Λοξίας Διός.

Apollo patris Jovis est propheta.

Apollo, says *Suidas*, is *Jupiter's* prophet, and delivers to men the oracles which he receives from him. ὁ δ' Ἀ. πόλλων ὑποφήτης ἐστὶ τῷ πατρί, καὶ παρ' ἐκείνου λαμβάνει τὰς ματιῶν, ἃ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἐκφέρει.

In

* The Jews believed seven principal angels, *Zech.* iv. 10. *Rev.* i. 4. v. 6. viii. 2. One may suppose, from the number, that they were thought to preside over the planets. *Tobii* xii. 15.

† Les Juifs ont débité un si grand nombre de fables, que leur histoire, depuis le tems des derniers des Historiens sacrez, n'est guere plus raisonnable que les plus fabuleuses histoires du Paganisme. Au moins il est certain qu'étant mieux instruits que les Payens, ils sont beaucoup plus blâmables d'avoir inventé tant de mensonges. *Le Clerc.* *Bibl. Chois.* iii. 166.

In the *Hymn to Apollo*, the god says concerning himself, 132.

Χρῖσθαι τ' ἀνθρώποισι Διὶς τιμωρὶ καὶ βελήν.

Oraculoque edam hominibus Jovis verum consilium.

And in our learned poet, the Almighty is introduced saying to the arch-angel Michael,

—→*reveal*

*To Adam what shall come in future days,
As I shall thee enlighten.*

To prophecy is to be adjoined a knowledge of the secret intentions of men. It seems to be beyond the abilities of any created being to know the thoughts of a man, particularly of a man who is agitated by no passion, and gives no indications of his mind by any outward sign. This is ascribed to God, as his peculiar perfection, in many places of Scripture, and it is said, that he is *a discerner of the thoughts and intents of the heart; and understandeth all the imaginations of the thoughts, &c.* This knowledge God often imparted to the prophets.

Cicero has treated the subject of *divination* in two books; in the first he alledges all that can be said for it, and in the second he argues against it. Whosoever will examine his reasons on both sides, may see, I think, that he has not overset all the proofs which he has offered for it. He observes, that all nations, civil and barbarous, always agreed in this, that there was such a thing as divination, or a foreknowledge of events, to be obtained by various indications, as by the stars, by portents and prodigies, by the entrails of victims, by omens, by lots, by forebodings, by consulting the dead, by oracles, by inspired persons, by dreams, &c. If there is such a thing as divination, said the Pagans, there must be a Deity from whom it proceeds,

proceeds, because man by his own natural powers cannot discover things to come ; and if there be a Deity, there is probably divination, since it is not a conduct unworthy of the Deity to take notice of mortal men, and of their affairs, and on some occasions to advise and instruct them. Thus the Pagans argued, and accordingly, for the most part, they who believed a God and a providence, believed divination, they who were atheists denied it, and they who were sceptics decided nothing about it.

Divination was a matter of fact, and to be proved like other facts, by evidence, testimony, and experience : and some philosophers rejecting all other kinds of divination, as dubious and fallacious, admitted two sorts, that by inspired persons, and that by dreams. In favour of the latter we have the authorities of Socrates, Plato, Xenophon, and Aristotle. Cicero *de Divin.* i. 25.

Atque dormientium animi maxime declarant divinitatem suam. Multa enim, cum remissi et liberi sunt, futura prospiciunt, &c. Cicero *de Senect.* 22. which is taken from Xenophon.

When Socrates was in prison, Crito went to pay him an early visit, and told him, he was informed by persons come from sea, that the ship from Delos would return to Athens that day, the consequence of which was, that Socrates would be put to death on the morrow. Be it so, said Socrates, if it please the gods : yet I think the ship will not be here to-day, but to-morrow. *Why so, dear friend?* Because this night a woman of a beautiful and majestic form, clothed in a white robe, appeared to me in a dream, and calling me by my name, said,

Ἡμᾶσι κεν τράτα φθίην ἱερέων ἱκοιο.

The

The third day shall land thee safe at fruitful Phthia.

They are the words of Achilles in Homer, when he proposed to return home. Socrates took it for a prediction of his death, because he judged that to die was to go home to his own country. And his dream was accomplished. Plato's *Crito*. See Le Clerc on *Gen.* xii. 7. concerning revelations by dreams. Josephus has recorded a remarkable dream of Glaphyra, *Antiq.* xvii. 12. and *Bell. Jud.* ii. 7. But Noris, in his *Cenotaph. Pis.* and Le Clerc *Bibl. Chois.* iv. 60. observe that it cannot be true, that Archelaus married the widow of Juba; whence it follows, that this dream of Glaphyra, supposed to be widow of Juba, and wife of Archelaus, is either entirely, or partly false.

He who would see some modern accounts of dreams and prophecies, may consult Grotius, *Epist.* 405. *Part* ii. or Le Clerc *Bibl. Univ.* T. i. p. 152. and La Mothe le Vayer, *Problemes Sceptiques* xxviii. and the life of Usher by Parr, and the visions of a strange fellow called Rice Evans, and Bayle's Dict. *Majus*, not. [D.] *Maldonat*, not. [G.] where he says of prophetic dreams, *De tels faits, dont l'univers est tout plein, embarrassent plus les Esprits forts qu'ils ne le témoignent.*

As the reader may not have the books to which I have referred, it may save him some trouble, and give him some satisfaction or amusement to peruse what follows: *Quidam ad Landresium, in operibus, proximè oppidum cubans, somnio monitus ut cuniculum hostis caveret, surrexit. Vix egressus erat, prorumpit vis tecta, locumque disjicit. At Salmasium si videris, historiam tibi referet, patre suo auctore. Ad eum venit quidam Græcæ lingue plane ignarus. Is in somnio voces Græcas has audierat; ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐν ὀφθαλμῷ τὴν σὸν ἀψυχίαν; experrectusque Gallicis literis sonum earum vocum perscripserat.*

Cum

Cum ejus nihil intelligeret, rogatus Senator Salmasius ei verba interpretatur, est enim filii doctissimi doctus pater. Migrat homo ex cædibus. Ecce nocte sequente corruunt, Hoc his adjice quæ Cicero, Tertullianus aliique ex omnium gentium historiis de somniis collegere. ἡ γὰρ τ' ὡς ἐκ τοῦ ἰσθ', interdum, contra quàm censent Peripatetici. Grotius, p. 370.

Le Clerc, where he gives an account of this passage, tells us, that Salmasius the father was *Conseiller au Parlement de Dijon*.

La Mothe le Vayer seems to relate the same story that Grotius had from Salmasius, but with some difference. *Un Conseiller du Parlement de Dijon nommé Carré, ouït en dormant qu'on lui disoit ces mots Grecs, qu'il n'entendoit nullement, ἀπὸ, ἐκ αἰσδάνη τὴν οὐ ἀτυχίαν. Ils luy furent interpretez, abi, non sentis infortunium tuum; et comme la maison qui'il habitoit menaçoit de ruine, il la quitta fort à propos, pour éviter sa cheute qui arriva aussi-tôt après.* La Mothe probably took his account from common rumour, when the story had undergone some alteration in passing from one to another, *Ἀτυχίαν* would be a more eligible word than *ἀφ'αυχίαν*, if we were at liberty to chuse; but we must take it as Salmasius gives it, and not alter the language of *Monsieur Le Songe*.

As to the oracles which were uttered in Pagan temples, if we consider how many motives both of private gain, and of national politics might have contributed to support them, and what many of the Pagans have said against them, and what obscure and shuffling answers they commonly contained, and into what scorn and neglect they fell at last, we must needs have a contemptible opinion of them in general; we cannot fix upon any oracles on which we can depend,

as

as upon prophecies which were pronounced and fulfilled ; and if there were any such, which on the other hand we cannot absolutely deny and disprove, they are irretrievably lost and buried under the rubbish of the false, ambiguous, and trifling responses which history has preserved ; and those which have a plausible appearance, lie under the suspicion of having been composed after the event. Some of them were in such doggrel verse, that they cast a grievous reproach upon the god of poetry, from whom they were supposed to proceed, and betrayed the poor capacity of the laureate poet.

In the class of knaves and liars must be placed the generality of soothsayers, magicians, and they who made a craft and a livelihood of predicting, and drew up the art into a system. Setting aside these sorts of divination, as extremely suspicious, there remain predictions by dreams, and by sudden impulses upon persons who were not of the fraternity of impostors ; these were allowed to be sometimes preternatural by many of the learned Pagans, and cannot, I think, be disproved, and should not be totally rejected. If it be asked whether these dreams and impulses were caused by the immediate inspiration of God, or by the mediation of good or of evil spirits, we must confess our own ignorance and incapacity to resolve the question. There is a history in the Acts of the Apostles, which seems to determine the point in favour of divination. *A certain damsel, says St Luke, possessed with a spirit of divination, met us, which brought her masters much gain by soothsaying : the same followed Paul and us, and cried, saying, These men are the servants of the Most High God, which shew unto us the way of salvation. And this did she many days : But Paul being grieved, turned*

turned and said to the spirit, *I command thee in the name of Jesus Christ to come out of her.* And he came out the same hour. Thus the divine providence so ordered it, that this occurrence should turn greatly to the honour and advancement of Christianity. But this prophetess might be in repute for discovering lost or stolen goods, or for revealing what happened in distant places, or for predicting changes of weather, or for many things of a like nature, and might not be able to foretell the future actions of men.

As to Isaias, we may infer with Vitringa, from his words, that God was determined so to conduct the great revolutions which were to be brought about in the world, and so to order the things relating to the victories of Cyrus, and to the fall of Babylon, that his predictions should be accomplished, and that the Chaldeans and other Pagan prophets should be filled with the spirit of error and of ignorance. *I am the Lord that frustrateth the tokens of liars, and maketh diviners mad.* And again he declares that the idols of Babylon should be destroyed, and their false gods not able to defend themselves. So that the declarations in Isaias may be supposed to relate to the predictions made by Isaias and by other prophets, in which their superiority over the diviners should manifestly appear, to the confusion of their Pagan neighbours. This, I say, follows, but not that, where there was no competition between the God of Israel, and the Pagan deities, no such thing as divination should ever be found in any age, and in any part of the Gentile world.

It may be said that, in all probability, God will not endue bad angels with the spirit of prophecy, or permit them to reveal things to come. It is probable indeed he will never do it, where there is a competition
between

between true religion and idolatry, and when it would make men worse than they would else be. But it appears from the scriptures, that the prophetic *afflatus* has sometimes inspired bad men ; and we cannot be certain that God may not bring about some of the designs of providence even by evil spirits, by unworthy creatures, and immoral agents ; much less can we be certain that good angels were never employed, as ministering spirits among the Pagans. Milton treats this subject in his *Paradise Regained*, i. 446. and makes Christ say to Satan ;

—*Whence hast thou then thy truth,
But from him [God] or his angels president
In every province, who themselves disdaining
T' approach thy temples, give thee in command
What to the smallest tittle thou shalt say
To thy adorers ?*

It may be said also that divination among the Pagans helped, indirectly at least, to support idolatry and Paganism. Socrates, and Plato, and Xenophon, and other worthy men, believed divination by dreams and impulses ; and this opinion had a tendency to confirm them in their religion, that is, in the belief of a supreme God, and of inferior gods, and good dæmons. It may be so ; but the divine providence seems hitherto never to have intended that Judaism, or afterwards Christianity, should be the religion of all mankind, since neither of these religions were ever fairly proposed to all mankind. Divination, or the opinion of it, contributed to keep up Paganism in Pagan nations ; it contributed also to keep out Atheism ; and there is a sort of Paganism which, such as it is, is far better than Atheism, with Bayle's leave be it said, who was pleased to affirm the contrary, and who,

whatsoever

turned and said to the spirit, *I command thee in the name of Jesus Christ to come out of her.* And he came out the same hour. Thus the divine providence so ordered it, that this occurrence should turn greatly to the honour and advancement of Christianity. But this prophetess might be in repute for discovering lost or stolen goods, or for revealing what happened in distant places, or for predicting changes of weather, or for many things of a like nature, and might not be able to foretell the future actions of men.

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se amongst the vul-
The remark therefore
than pertinent, that *he*
gives adoration to no being,
worship his dog, his hat, or

to us a republic, if we may
Atheists, or despisers of the
says to Ulysses *, *Stranger, thou*
comest from a far country, to talk to
are superior to them, and value them
not.

ἢ τὰ πολλὰ ἐιρήνηται,
ἢ δειδύμεν, ἢ ἀλίανθαι.

whatsoever was his design, has highly obliged all Atheists and infidels, by many arguments and remarks scattered up and down in his writings. Bayle was not the inventor of this hypothesis, though he adorned and improved it. Lucretius and other *Esprits Forts* had maintained it :

Vixere fortes ante Agamemnona.

Lucretius i. 81.

Illud in his rebus vereor, ne forte rearis

Impia te rationis inire elementa, viamque

Endogredi sceleris : quod contra sæpius olim

Religio peperit scelerosa atque impia facta.

There may have been modes of idolatry which were worse than Atheism, and which indeed, strictly speaking, were a kind of Atheism, as Bayle and others have truly observed ; there may have been Atheists in the Pagan world, who were better citizens, and honester people than many of their superstitious countrymen ; and some Epicureans, as to personal qualities, might be preferable to some Peripatetics and Stoics. Atheism in idolatrous nations, and in former ages, was not altogether so great a depravity as it is now, since natural religion has received so much friendly aid from natural philosophy, and from the excellent Newtonian system, and has been so well illustrated and confirmed by many skilful writers. Deism likewise is not so bad in places where Christianity is clouded and defaced by superstition, as it is in countries where revealed religion is free from such gross errors and defects. There have been several idolaters, Jews, Mahometans, and Christians, several reverend inquisitors, *compellers to come in*, propagators of the faith, by sword, halter, and faggot, who have been viler persons than several Atheists ; and religion may be corrupted to such a degree,

gree; as to be worse than unbelief; but if a man will needs draw the comparison between Atheism and idolatry, it is not fair to take the worst kind of superstition, and the most ignorant, flagitious, and infamous Pagans who were infected with it, and oppose to them the better sort of Atheists, ancient and modern, who lived reputably, and tell us that Epicurus, and Cassius, and Atticus, and Pliny, and Spinoza were more to be esteemed than many believing Pagans, or perhaps Christians.

We must consider Paganism in the whole, as it has been from the time when it began, to this day, in all ages, and in all places; and the question is, whether, if all these Pagans had been Atheists, it had been better for civil society in general, or no. On this question most of those who are not Atheists, I presume, will chuse the negative; and of the Atheists, all will not take the affirmative; for there have been Atheists, who have thought that infidelity was only fit for polite gentlemen, and that religion was of use amongst the vulgar, and a good state-engine. The remark therefore of this author is rather lively than pertinent, that *he is not a greater madman who pays adoration to no being, than he who should devoutly worship his dog, his hat, or his breeches.*

Homer has described to us a republic, if we may call it so, of a sort of Atheists, or despisers of the gods. Polyphemus says to Ulysses *, *Stranger, thou art a fool, or thou comest from a far country, to talk to me of the gods: we are superior to them, and value them*
not.

* Νέπτιος εἶς, ὃ ξυῖν, ἢ τολόθιν εἰλόλυθας,
 "Ὅς με θεοὺς κέλειαι ἢ δεῖξιμαν, ἢ αἰλίασθαι.

not. The *Cyclopes*, says Homer, have no religion, no magistrates, no assemblies, no laws, no industry, no arts and sciences, no civility, no respect for one another; but each Cyclops, in his den, rules over his wife and children as he thinks fit, and eats all the stragglers that fall into his hands. An excellent image of Atheistical polity! *Odyss.* I. 273.

Bayle had confirmed himself in an opinion that the Pagans worshipped a rabble of coëqual, imperfect, vicious gods; not considering how much the doctrine of one supreme and of many inferior gods prevailed; and for this reason he is the more excusable when he prefers Atheism to such Idolatry.

As to the grace of God, says Bayle, the Pagans and the Atheists are equally destitute of it; and none have it besides the regenerate, who cannot lose it, and who are predestinated to life eternal. Who taught him all this? Not the Scriptures *, from which he could not prove it; not the ancient Fathers, who were generally of a contrary opinion, and entertained favourable sentiments of the wiser Pagans; not human reason, which, according to him, was only a *Jack-a-lantern*, leading those who followed it into bogs and ditches; not the Synod of Dort, and some modern Supralapsarians, whom he despised in his heart. He only threw out this as an *Argumentum ad hominem*; and he uses the same sort of argument, when he tells us with a serious face that Epiphanius, Jerom, and other doctors of divinity, ancient and modern, have declared *heresy* to be worse than *atheism*: As if there were any absurdity, that some doctor, as well as some philosopher, has not maintained! Jerom's learning and abilities deserve

* See *The Imperfect Promulgation of the Gospel considered*, in a very good sermon by Bishop Bradford.

serve to be honoured, but his impetuous temper is no secret to those who have looked into his writings. When he was warmed with disputing, he would call,

Hunc Furiam, hunc aliud, jussit quod splendida bilis.

There have been Pagans, who have believed in one God, great and good, and in inferior deities deriving their powers and perfections from the Father of gods and men, themselves good and beneficent, and guilty of none of those vices and follies which poetical and fabulous history ascribed to them; they have also perhaps believed that there were malevolent dæmons, who were sometimes permitted to do mischief, but who were subject to the power and controul of the Deity; and certainly such a religion (though accompanied with some degree of superstition) together with a belief of the *honestum* and the *turpe*, and with a tolerable system of morality, and with some conjectural hopes of a life after this, is far preferable to atheism, to the doctrine that a God, and a providence, and another state, are

Rumores vacui, verbaque inania,

Et par sollicito fabula somnio.

I pretend not to deny that some atheists of old had notions of the *honestum* and the *turpe*, and might act suitably to them: yet surely they had not so many motives to virtue, as the Pagans of whom I am now speaking.

But, says Bayle, if you had examined these Pagans, and reasoned with them concerning the supreme God, you would have found that they entertained some notions, the consequences of which were absurd, and would have destroyed the fair idea. And is not that the case of some Jews and Christians? Men must not be charged with all the consequences, which may per-

haps regularly follow from their notions, whilst they neither draw them, nor perceive them, nor own them.

Which system is best, that of Socrates, or that of Epicurus? that of the Platonics, or Stoics, or that of Hobbes; of Spinoza*, and perhaps of Bayle, who too often made a bad use of his great abilities, and who taught that a man could not believe that God was good and wise, and that Christianity was true, without sacrificing *reason to faith*, or, in plain English, without renouncing common sense?

This ingenious and unaccountable author had frequent quarrels with *reason*, which at last ran so high, that he gave her a bill of divorce, and turned her out of doors, with, *Res tuas tibi habeto*. And yet, when he had discarded her, he would reason against her. That is,

Nec tecum possum vivere, nec sine te :

An absurdity, which sticks, like the shirt of Hercules, to all those, of all denominations, who argue against *reason*, as against a false and fallacious guide. To rail at her, and call her names, though it be not so genteel, yet is rather

* Spinoza has endeavoured to shew, that there can be no such thing as liberty, and that there is no God. But how? by a system of jargon, adorned at proper distances with Q. E. D. Great is the force of *initial letters*! Yet has this absurd and cloudy philosopher found admirers and disciples, who have followed him, as they say the *tiger* follows the *rhinoceros*, to eat his excrements. Spinoza held a *plenum*, which was necessary for his purpose. If there be a *vacuum*, Spinoza's god, or the material world, is a limited, imperfect substance, and depends on some cause. Absolute *perfection* neither requires, nor admits a cause, or an antecedent reason; but of *limitation* and *imperfection* there must be some cause. Spinoza would have owned this consequence from the admission of a *vacuum*, for he says, that what is necessarily existing, must be infinite. He should therefore have proved the existence of a *plenum*: *Quod Erat Demonstrandum*. The doctrine of a *vacuum* is the sponge of all Atheistical systems.

rather less ridiculous, for she will never furnish arms against herself. But these persons are usually as fond of their notions as Job was of his integrity ; they hold them fast, and will not let them go : and who would dispute with those, who, upon their own principles, must neither give nor take a reason ?

M. Bayle a prétendu prouver qu'il valoit mieux être Athée qu'Idolâtre ; c'est à dire en d'autres termes, qu'il est moins dangereux de n'avoir point de tout de religion, que d'en avoir une mauvaise. —

Dire que la Religion n'est pas un motif réprimant, parce qu'elle ne réprime pas toujours, c'est dire que les Loix civiles ne sont pas un motif réprimant non plus. C'est mal raisonner contre la Religion de rassembler dans un grand Ouvrage une longue énumération des maux qu'elle a produits, si l'on ne fait de même celle des biens qu'elle a faits. Si je voulois raconter tous les maux qu'ont produit dans le monde les Loix civiles, la Monarchie, le Gouvernement Républicain, je dirois des choses effroyables. Quand il seroit inutile que les sujets eussent une religion, il ne le seroit pas que les Princes en eussent, et qu'ils blanchissent d'écume le seul frein, que ceux qui ne craignent pas les Loix humaines, puissent avoir. —

La question n'est pas de sçavoir, s'il vaudroit mieux qu'un certain homme ou qu'un certain peuple n'eut point de religion, que d'abuser de celle qu'il a ; mais de sçavoir quel est le moindre mal, que l'on abuse quelquefois de la religion, ou qu'il n'y en ait point du-tout parmi les hommes.

Pour diminuer l'horreur de l'Athéisme on charge trop l'Idolatrie. —

Il convient que (dans le gouvernement Despotique) il y ait quelque Livre sacré qui serve de règle. — Le Code Religieux supplée au Code Civil, et fixe l'arbitraire.

Le Roi de Perse est le Chef de la Religion, mais l'Alcoran règle la Religion : l'Empereur de la Chine est le Souverain Pontife, mais il y a des Livres qui sont entre les mains de tout le monde, auxquels il y doit lui-même se conformer. En vain un Empereur voulut-il les abolir ; ils triomphèrent de la tyrannie. L'Esprit des Lois, l. xxiv. ch. 2. l. xii. ch. 29. l. xxv. ch. 8.

Je ne suis pas du sentiment (de M. Bayle) que l'Atheisme soit préférable à l'Idolatrie Payenne, en tout sens. Pour répondre à la question, il faudroit, ce me semble, premierement distinguer des societez, les opinions considérées d'une maniere abstraite, et faire d'un côté la description de l'Atheisme, et de l'autre celle de l'Idolatrie. L'on trouveroit peut-être qu'il y a telle Idolatrie qui seroit préférable à l'Atheisme, et telle autre qui seroit pire. Ainsi, je ne puis répondre ni oui, ni non, à la question générale de M. Bayle. En second lieu, quand il s'agiroit de considérer, non les opinions en general, mais les Societez en elles mêmes, qui feroient profession de l'Idolatrie Payenne, ou de l'Atheisme ; il faudroit encore faire de grandes distinctions, & diviser la question en plusieurs propositions, selon les differens cas que l'on poseroit, et auxquels on répondroit négativement, ou affirmativement, suivant leur diversité. Je n'ai ni le loisir, ni la volonté de m'appliquer à cette sorte de recherche, et je n'en aurois même rien dit, si M. Bayle ne m'avoit fait l'honneur, de me citer, entre ceux, qu'il croit être de son sentiment, dans l'Article lxxvii. de la Continuation des pensées diverses sur les Cometes. Le Clerc, Bibl. Chois. V. 302.

Si ce qu'on nous dit des opinions, des loix, & des mœurs des sujets des Incas est vrai, il n'y a point eu d'Empire Idolatre dans les autres parties du monde, sans en excepter ceux des nations les plus polies et les plus savantes, où il y a

cu

eu de si bonnes loix, et qu'elles aient été si bien observées. La religion, qui consistoit principalement à adorer et à sacrifier au Soleil—non des victimes humaines—mais des bêtes et d'autres choses, a été la moins gâtée, qu'il y ait eu parmi les Idolâtres. Outre le Soleil, ils disoient qu'il y avoit une autre Divinité.—Ils parloient de ce Dieu, comme d'un être invisible, dont la nature leur étoit inconnue, et qui avoit créé le Soleil même et les étoiles. Ils croyoient aussi l'immortalité de l'ame, et avoient même une idée confuse de la résurrection, à ce que dit Garcilasso de la Vega.—Supposé que ce qu'il dit soit véritable, on peut dire qu'une Société Idolâtre comme celle-là, étoit incomparablement meilleure que ne le seroit une société d'Athées.—Ceux qui n'ont pas encore lu cette histoire seront charmez de l'excellente police des Peruvians, de la charité qu'ils avoient pour les pauvres, les veuves & les orphelins, et de l'innocence de leurs mœurs, à les considerer comme des peuples destituez des lumieres de la Revelation. Il y aura même bien des gens, qui seront plus édifiez des Vertus Morales des Americains, destituez des lumieres du Ciel, que des Vertus Theologiques des Espagnols, qui sont, comme ils le croient, les meilleurs Chrétiens du monde.—Le Clerc, Bibl. Chois. V. p. 380.

Bayle, after having shewed us the worst side of Paganism, proceeds to insult Christianity, and to tell us that a nation consisting of true Christians must soon perish, and could not maintain itself against its irreligious neighbours, which doctrine is also retailed in that flagitious and detestable book called *The Fable of the Bees*. And how does this appear? Is it because Christianity makes a man a poltroon? He does not pretend to say that: but because, according to the gospel, self-defence is unlawful, stratagems in war are crimes, merchandizing is wickedness, and riches and

honours are prohibited. They who talk thus shew that they understand not, or will not understand either the strong and figurative style of the scriptures, or the rational methods of interpreting them, or the true nature of virtues and vices.

If this author proposed to himself to acquire the applause of free-thinkers, he had his reward : but when Phocion had made a speech which was applauded by the populace, he asked, Have I not said some foolish thing ?

To return to divination, it appears from the Scriptures that some good and great men, when they were taking leave of the world, and blessing their children, or their nation, were enlightened with a prophetic spirit. Homer makes his heroes, as Patroclus and Hector, prophesy at the time of their death ; and Cicero introduces his brother thus arguing in behalf of divination : *Epicurum ergo antepones Platoni & Socrati ? qui ut rationem non redderent, auctoritate tamen hos minutos philosophos vincerent. Jubet igitur Plato, sic ad somnum proficisci corporibus affectis, ut nihil sit, quod errorem animis perturbationemque afferat.*—*Quum ergo est somno sevocatus animus a societate, et a contagione corporis, tum meminit præteritorum, præsentia cernit, futura prævidet : jacet enim corpus—viget animus : quod multo magis faciet post mortem—itaque appropinquante morte multo est divinior.*—*Divinare autem morientes, etiam illo exemplo confirmat Posidonius—Idque facilius eveniet appropinquante morte, ut animi futura augurentur. Ex quo et illud est Calani, de quo ante dixi, et Homerici Hectoris, qui moriens propinquam Achilli mortem denuntiat. De Divin. i. 30.*

The Pagans had also an opinion that the good wishes and the imprecations of parents were often fulfilled,
and

and had in them a kind of divination. Read the story of Phoenix in Homer, *Il.* I. 445, &c. And Plato says that every wise person revered and esteemed the prayers of his parents, knowing that they were very frequently accomplished. Πᾶς δὲ τῶν ἔχων φοβεῖται καὶ τιμᾷ γονέων εὐχάς, εἰδὼς πολλοῖς ἔ πολλαῖς ἐπίτελεῖς γενομένας, *De Leg.* xi. p. 931. Consult the place, and compare it with the case of Esau, in *Gen.* xxvii.

Eusebius has treated the subject of Oracles in his *Præparatio Evangelica*, L. iv. v, vi. He produces such arguments as tend to shew that it was all human fraud, and, amongst other things, he informs us, that many Pagan priests and prophets, who (under Constantine, I suppose) had been taken up, and tried, and tortured, had confessed that the oracles were impostures, and had laid open the whole contrivance, and that their confessions stood upon record, and that these were not obscure wretches, but philosophers and magistrates, who had enriched themselves by persecuting and plundering the Christians. So Theodoret tells us, that in demolishing the temples at Alexandria, the Christians found hollow statues fixed to the walls, into which the priests used to enter, and thence deliver oracles, v. 22. Eusebius adds, that the Peripatetics, Cynics, and Epicureans were of opinion that such predictions were all artifice and knavery. He then produces the arguments of Diogenianus against Divination. But Eusebius, as also all the ancient Christians, was of opinion, that with these human frauds there might have been sometimes a mixture of dæmoniacal tricks. *Pr. Ev.* vii. 16. He then argues against the oracles from the concessions and the writings of Pagans. He shews from Porphyry, that, according to that philosopher's own principles, and according to the

the reasonings of other Pagans, the gods who delivered oracles must have been evil dæmons. He proves the same thing from human sacrifices, and produces Porphyry's testimony and opinion that the Pagans worshipped evil dæmons, the chief of whom were *Serapis* and *Hecate*. He proves the same from Plutarch, and he gives a collection made by Oenomaus of wicked, false, trifling, ambiguous oracles.

The old Oracles often begin with 'Αλλ' ὅταν, *But when*, which is an odd setting out. Thus in Herodotus,

'Αλλ' ὅταν ἡμίονος—i. 55.

'Αλλ' ὅταν ἐν Σίφνῳ—iii. 57.

'Αλλ' ὅταν ἡ Θήλεια—vi. 77.

'Αλλ' ὅταν Ἀγρίμιδος—viii. 77.

In the *Oracula Vetera*,

'Αλλ' οἱ μὲν καθύπερθε—

'Αλλὰ τέλει ξύαντο—

'Αλλ' ὁπόταν σκήπτροισι—

'Αλλ' ὅτε δὴ νύμφαι—

'Αλλ' ὁπόταν Τιθορέως—

'Αλλ' ὅταν οἰκήσωσι—

In imitation of which style, we find in the Sibyl-line oracles, and in the beginning of a sentence,

'Αλλ' ὁπόταν μεγάλοιο Θεῷ—

And so in many places of that collection, which I shall not transcribe.

Hence Aristophanes, in banter, I suppose, of the predictions in Herodotus, makes a pompous and ridiculous oracle, and uses the same foolish introduction, to persuade a sausage-monger to set up for a demagogue and a ruler. The oracle is in heroic verse, and runs thus : *Equit.* 197.

'Αλλ' ὁπόταν μάρψῃ βυρσαίσιος ἀγκυλοχέλης
Γαμψηλῆσι δράκοντα κοάλεμον, αἰμαλοπώτην,

Νῆ

Νῆ τότε Παφλαγόνων μὲν ἀπόλλυται ἡ σκεροδάλμη.
 Κοιλοπώλῃσι δὲ Θεὸς μέγα κῦδος ὑπάξει,
 Αἶκεν μὴ πωλεῖν ἀλλὰνίας μᾶλλον ἑλπίαι.

But when the Tanner-Eagle with a crooked beak shall seize the stupid blood-drinking dragon, then the Paphlagonian pickle shall perish; and the Deity shall advance the sausage-mongers to the highest honours, if they will but leave off their trade, and sell no more puddings.

Lucian also, *De Morte Peregrini*, gives us two oracles made upon the death of that knave, who burnt himself publicly, the one by a seeming friend, the other by a foe.

The first was ascribed to the *Sibyl*, who was the *Mother Shipton* of the Ancients :

Ἄλλ' ὅπταν Πρωτεύς Κυρκῶν ὄχ' ἄριστος ἀπάντων
 Ζηνὸς ἐργόδ' ἐπὶ τέμενος κατὰ πύρ ἀνακάνσας
 Ἐς φλόγα πηδῆσας ἔλθῃ εἰς μακρὸν Ὀλυμπον,
 Δὴ τότε πάντας ὁμῶς οἱ ἀρέρης καρπὸν ἔδουσι,
 Μυκητόλοισι τιμᾶν κέλομαι Ἥρωα μέγιστον,
 Σύνθρονον Ἡφαίστῳ ἢ Ἡρικλῆϊ ἀνακτῆρι.

But when Proteus, the chief of the Cynics, leaping into the flames, near the temple of Jupiter, shall ascend up to Olympus, then let all mortals with one consent adore the nocturnal hero, and rank him with Vulcan and Hercules.

The second was fathered upon *Bacis*, the *Nostrodamus* of his times :

Ἄλλ' ὅπταν Κυρκὶς πολυώνυμος ἐς φλόγα πολλὴν
 Πηδῆσῃ δόξης ὑπ' ἐριννυῖ θυμὸν ὀρνθεῖς,
 Δὴ τότε τὺς ἄλλους κυναλώπεκας, οἳ οἱ ἔπονται
 Μιμῆσθαι χρὴ πτότμον ἀποικομένειο λύκοιο.
 Ὃς δὲ κε δειλὸς ἔων, φεύγει μένος Ἡφαίστιοιο,
 Λάισσιν βαλῆεν τῷτον τάχα πάντας Ἀχαιῆς,
 Ως μὴ ψυχρὸς ἔων, θερμηγορέειν ἐπιχειρῇ;

Χρυσῷ

·Κρυσῶ σαζάμενος ὥρην, μάλα πολλὰ δαείζων,
 'Εν καλάϊς Πάτρασιν ἔχων τρίς ὥςτε τάλαρα.

But when the Cynic, who has more names than one, incited by the Furies, and by the mad love of vain-glory, shall jump into the flames, then let all the dog-foxes, his trusty disciples, follow the example of the departed wolf. And if any one of them shrink, and be afraid of the fire, let all the Greeks pelt him with stones, that he may no more shew his courage only by prating, and put gold into his satchel, and lend it out to interest, and add to the fifteen talents which he has hoarded up at Patræ.

It is probable that Lucian made both these oracles, to divert himself and his readers, not forgetting the essential 'Αλλ' ὅταν. But Lucian's raillery could not put a stop to the superstition of the world ; for this Peregrinus, or Proteus, was deified, and had, at Parium, a statue erected, to which religious honours were paid, and which delivered oracles. See Athenagoras *Legat.*

The comedy of Aristophanes, cited above, abounds with ridicule upon the oracles, and shews the liberty which the wits in his days took to deride them, and to bring them into contempt.

If the writer *de Dea Syria* be in earnest, and sincere in his narration, as he seems to be, there were few Pagan temples and oracles more remarkable than that of Hierapolis in Syria, and from his account it may be inferred, that the priests of that temple had carried the arts of imposture to great perfection, and surpassed their ancient instructors the Egyptians, like the thief who stole a statue of Mercury, and told the god,

Πολλοὶ μαθηταὶ κρίσσοις διδασκάλων.

The Egyptians, says this author, were the first who had knowledge of the gods, and built them temples, &c. and from them the Assyrians learned these things.

Herodotus

Herodotus and Diodorus Siculus say the same. Lucian. de Dea Syr. § 2.

Ἐνὶ δὲ—καὶ θεοὶ δὲ κάρλα αὐτοῖσι ἐμφανέες. ἰδρῶν γάρ δὴ ὦν παραφρίσι τὰ ξόανα, καὶ κινέσθαι καὶ χρησμηγορεῖν καὶ βοὴ δὲ πολλάκις ἐγένετο ἐν τῷ νηῷ, κλεισθέντος τῷ ἱερῷ, καὶ πολλοὶ ἤκουσαν. *Sunt autem—præsentēs valde iis Dii. Sudant enim apud illos simulacra, et moventur, atque edunt oracula. Clamor etiam scepe in cede multis exaudientibus ortus, cum clausum esset templum.*

They had a statue of Apollo, differing from the Grecian images of that god in two things, he was represented with a beard, and he was clothed; and he delivered his oracles thus:

Μαρίηνα πολλὰ μὲν παρ' Ἑλλήσι, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ παρ' Αἰγυπτίοισι. τὰ δὲ καὶ ἐν τῇ Λιβύῃ, καὶ ἐν τῇδε Ἀσίῃ πολλὰ εἰσι. ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν ὅτε ἰρῶν ἄνευ ὅτε προφητῶν φθέγγονται. ὅδε δὲ αὐτὸς τε κινέσθαι, καὶ τὴν μαρίνην ἐς τέλος αὐτεργεῖν. τρόπος δὲ αὐτῆς τοιόσδε. εὐτ' ἂν ἐθέλῃσι χρησμηγορεῖν, ἐν τῇ ἔδρῃ πρῶτα κινέσθαι. οἱ δὲ μὲν ἰρῆς αὐτίκα αἰέρουσι. ἢ δὲ μὴ αἰέρωσι, ὁ δὲ ἰδρῶν, καὶ ἐς μέσον ἔτι κινέσθαι. εὐτ' ἂν δὲ ὑποδύντες φέρωσι, ἄγει σφείας, πάντῃ περιδινέων, καὶ ἐς ἄλλον ἐξ ἐτέρου μέλαπνῶν. τέλος ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς ἀνίστασας, ἐπερέειναι μὲν περὶ ἀπάγων πρηγμάτων ὁ δὲ ἢν τι μὴ θέλῃ ποιεῖσθαι, ὀπίσω ἀναχωρεῖ. ἢν δὲ τι ἐπαινῇ, ἄγει ἐς τὸ πρῶτον τὸς προσφέροντας, ὅκωσπερ ἡιοχέων. ὅτω μὲν συναγείρουσι τὰ θέσφατα, καὶ ὅτε ἰρὸν πρῆγμα ὕδιν, ὅτε ἰδίον τότε ἄνευ πονεύει. λέγει δὲ καὶ τῷ ἔτιος πῆρι, καὶ τῶν ὀρέων αὐτὴ πασίων, καὶ ὁκότε ἔκ ἔσοιαι. λέγει δὲ καὶ τῷ Σημηλῇ πῆρι, ὁκότε χρὴ μὲν διαδημέειν, τὴν εἶπον ἀποδημίην. Ἐρῶν δὲ καὶ ἄλλο τὸ ἐμὺ παριόντος ἔπρηξεν. οἱ μὲν μὴ ἰρῆς αἰέροντες ἔφερον, ὁ δὲ τὸς μὲν ἐν γῇ κέτω ἔλιπε, αὐτὸς δὲ ἐν τῷ ἡερὶ μῆνος ἐφορέετο. *Oracula apud Græcos multa, multa apud Ægyptios. Verum etiam in Libya et in Asia multa sunt. Sed alia non sine sacerdotibus vel prophetis respondent: at hic movetur ipse, et divinationem ad finem usque solus perducit. Modus hic est. Cum vult reddere oraculum, in sede primum sua movetur. Sacerdotes vero ipsum continuo*

tollant. Si vero non tollant, ille sudat, et versus medium adhuc movetur. Cum vero subeuntes onus ipsum ferunt, agit illos usquequaque in orbem, et in alium ex alio transilit. Tandem obsistens sacerdotum princeps interrogat illum de rebus omnibus. Isque si nolit fieri, retrocedit; si vero probet, antrosum agit suos bajulos, tanquam habenis auriga. Ita colligunt oracula, & neque rem sacram ullam neque privatam sine hoc faciunt. Prædicit etiam de anno omnibusque illius tempestatibus, et quando non futuræ sint: item prædicit de signo, quando eam, quam dicebam modo, profectionem suscipiat. Narrabo etiam aliud, quod, me præsertim, egit. Sacerdotes sublatum ferebant. At ipse illos humi reliquit, sublimis ipse solus ferebatur. Ib. § 36, 37.

This author says here that he saw the image suspended and moving along in the air, upon which La Croze and Guietus observe that he is a liar*. They did not consider that feats as surprising as this have been performed by machinery assisted with legerdemain; and that Christian monks, as well as Pagan priests, have been eminent in such arts. We are obliged to the writer for not omitting a remarkable circumstance, that the image was adorned with a fine robe; the cloak was not put on for nothing, and served in all probability to conceal some knavery.

The tricks of the Egyptian priests were not to be compared to this; their little gods, when they were carried in procession, did not sweat, like these statues, but only made the porter sweat:

———*sic*

* Cicero mentions the old story of the wooden *lituus* of Romulus, which was not consumed in a fire, and treats it as a fable, *De Divin.* ii. 38. and yet it might possibly be true; for incombustible wood has been discovered.

—sio numina Memphis

*In vulgus proferre solet : penetralibus exit
Effigies ; brevis illa quidem : sed plurimus infra
Linget imposito suspirat vecte sacerdos,
Testatus sudore Deum.*

Claudian iv. *Cons. Hon.* 569.

Observe that this statue did not speak, and that when the writer says λέγει ἔτις σέρι, he only means that it *indicated* or *declared*. From his account we may collect, that when any question was put to it, if it retired and drew back, that was as much as to say, *No* : if it advanced, the meaning was, *Yes*.

We have accounts very like this, from other authors, of other statues and oracles. Diodorus Sic. xvii. says of Jupiter Ammon : Τὸ δὲ τῷ Θεῷ ζῶαντι—τὴν μαρτίαν ἰδιόζουσαι πασίῃς ποιῆται. ἐπὶ νῶς ᾧ περιφέρειται χρυσῆς ὑπὸ ἱστίων ὀγδοήκοντα. ἔτοι δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν ὤμων φέροντες τὸν Διὸς, προάγουσιν αὐτομάτως ὅπνι ὅτ' ἂν ἄγοι το τῷ θεῷ νῦμα τὴν πορείαν. *Simulacrum Dei—peculiari novoque plane vaticinandi genere oracula edit. In aurea enim navi a sacerdotibus octoginta circumfertur ; qui humeris Deum gestantes eo tendunt quo forte fortuna Dei nutus eos agit.* Compare with this Q. Curtius iv. 7. Macrobius, i. 23. says, *Hujus [Heliopolitani] templi religio etiam divinatione præpollet, quæ ad Apollinis potestatem refertur, qui idem atque Sol est. Vehitur enim simulacrum Dei Heliopolitani ferculo, —et subeunt plerumque provincie procures, raso capite, longi temporis castimonia puri ; ferunturque divino spiritu, non suo arbitrio, sed quo Deus propellit vehentes : ut videmus apud Antium promoveri simulacra Fortunarum ad danda responsa.* Strabo says from Callisthenes, that Ammon delivered his answers, ὃ δὲ λόγων, ἀλλὰ νύμασι καὶ συμβόλοις τὸ σκίον. *non verbis, sed, ut plurimum, nutu et signis.* See Van Dale *De Orac.* p. 210. who produces

duces these passages of Diodorus, Macrobius, and Strabo, and adds some from other authors.

The writer *de Dea Syria* tells us that the beasts which were kept in this sacred place lost their natural fierceness.

Ἐν δὲ τῇ αὐλῇ ἄφειοι νέμονται βόες μεγάλοι, ἡ ἵπποι, ἡ αἰτοὶ, ἡ ἄρκτοι, ἡ λέοντες, ἡ ἀνθρώπων ὑδαμᾶ σίνονται, ἀλλὰ πάντες ἱεροὶ τέλει, ἡ χερσὶν. *In aula soluti pascuntur boves magni, et equi, et aquilæ, et ursi, et leones, qui nequaquam nocent hominibus, sed sacri omnes sunt, et mansueti.* § 41.

The city and temple also, as he informs us, swarmed with *Galli*, or *castrated priests*, who perhaps performed the same operation upon these wild beasts, which they had performed upon themselves; and this, together with due correction administered from time to time, and a good education, and seeing much company, and proper food, and a full belly, and three meals a day, would make these lions and bears as tame as lambs. The μεγάλοι βόες were probably *oxen*, who grow to a much larger size than bulls; and a bull is a surly animal, with whom it is hard to cultivate any friendship.

Van Dale observes from Theophrastus, that cedar, and those sorts of wood which contain an oily moisture, will have a dew upon them in damp weather, and that statues made of them will sweat, which passed for a prodigy with silly people. He mentions this, as illustrating what is said in the book *De Dea Syria* concerning sweating images: but I rather think that the priests there had some surer contrivance to bring about this miracle, and could make their images sweat when they thought it proper.

The book *De Dea Syria* is very entertaining, and composed elegantly, and in the Ionic dialect: the author seems to have been a pagan who gave credit to prodigies

prodigies, oracles, and the power of the gods, which was not Lucian's case. If Lucian wrote it, to whom it is ascribed, one might suspect that, as he proposed to follow Herodotus in style and manner, so he affected to imitate him in gravely relating marvellous and strange things. But if this were his design, it was of too refined a nature, and by the seriousness which runs through the whole composition, the jest has been hitherto lost. Lucian, *Ver. Hist.* ii. 31. banters Herodotus as a liar, though unjustly, I think; for in this charming historian there are some marks of credulity, but none of dishonesty. Whosoever made the book, and with whatsoever intent, his narration seems to be historically true, and much of it is confirmed by other writers. We are informed by Fabricius, *Bibl. Gr.* iii. 501. that Jurieu, in his *History of the Jewish Rites and doctrines*, has concluded that Lucian was not the author of this treatise, because it is written in the Ionic dialect. The argument proves nothing, for Lucian was an ingenious monkey, who could imitate what he would, and throw himself into all shapes; and he might affect this sweetly flowing style, for several reasons, or out of mere fancy; and Arrian, as Fabricius observes, wrote his *Indica* in this dialect, though he composed his other works in the Attic diction. I have not Jurieu's book to consult, and perhaps it is not worth the seeking. Jurieu made a figure in his time, and had more zeal than discretion. He wrote some tracts of devotion, and he was remarkable for two things; first, for misinterpreting the Apocalypse, and thence foretelling what never came to pass; secondly, for publishing idle stories against Grotius, and other learned men, in a book called *L'Esprit de Monsieur Arnould*. The book at first had a run, for censure

is of a healthy complexion, and thrives better than pægyric ; and as it has been said of a hog *, that his soul is given him instead of salt, to keep him from stinking, so what is called *secret history* will preserve even a slovenly performance from decaying, longer than one would imagine : but now this work would be little known, if Bayle, and Le Clerc, and others had not chastised it, in which, perhaps, they did it too much honour, Jurieu by treating Grotius as an infidel, went to work like a bungler, for *Est ars etiam maledicendi*, as Joseph Scaliger said upon a like occasion, and it requires something of a hand to throw dirt. Bossuet, though he did not fight with such weapons as Jurieu, yet attacked Grotius, as a dangerous author and a Socinian, and made remarks upon him which are mere declamation and *verbiage*. It is one thing to be *bishop of Meaux*, and another thing to be *Hugo Grotius* :

Οὐ δ' ἐν μέσοις κείται
 Ἀῶρα δυσμαχὴν Ἀ Μοισᾶν
 Τῷ πικρὸν χόρῳ φέρειν †.

Calmet, if I remember right, has also treated Grotius in the same manner, Grotius was inclined to think and to judge rather too favourably than too hardly of the church of Rome ; for which some of the ecclesiastics of that communion have repaid him with the gratitude that was to be expected, and have taught by-standers, that he who endeavours to stroke a tiger into good humour, will at least have his fingers bitten off in the experiment.

Herodotus

* Cicero *De Nat. Deor.* ii. 64.

† Non enim in medio jacent

Ardua dona Musarum

A quolibet auferenda,

Herodotus is of opinion that divination and oracles had their rise in Egypt, and thence came into Afric and Greece, and that the oracle at Dodona was the most ancient in Greece. L. ii. The opinion is very probable, for Egypt was the nursery of idolatry and superstition. Homer mentions the temple of Jupiter at Dodona, and that of Apollo at Pytho, or Delphi, as being illustrious in the time of the Trojan war, and represents the latter as immensely rich. Il. II. 233, I. 404.

Herodotus shews us the great authority of oracles, from ancient times down to his own, by which kingdoms were disposed of, and war and peace were made. He relates that the Heraclidæ, who, before Gyges, reigned in Lydia, at Sardes, obtained the kingdom by an oracle, and that Gyges, who slew his master Candaules, had the kingdom adjudged to him by the Delphic oracle, which favour he rewarded by sending thither large gifts. Herodotus every where speaks of oracles, divination, and prodigies, as one who firmly believed in them, and who was displeased with those that slighted them. See viii. 77. He gives us there an oracle of Bacis, in which there is a remarkable expression, and in the style of the Scriptures,

Δὶα δὲν οὐέσου κρατερὸν κόρα, ὕβρις ἦν.

Compescet juvenem meritissima pœna superbum,
as *Psalm lxxxix. 22.*—*nor the son of wickedness afflict him.* 2 Sam. vii. 10. *neither shall the children of wickedness afflict them.* Judas is called *the son of perdition*, John xvii. 12. where see Grotius.

Herodotus also relates prophetic dreams which were said to have been accomplished, as the dream of Cræsus, of Astyages, and of others. *Having travelled,* says Prideaux, *through Egypt, Syria, and several other*
H 2 countries,

countries, in order to the writing of his history, he did, as travellers used to do, he put down relations upon trust, as he met with them, and no doubt was imposed upon in many of them.

Van Dale, in his book *De Oraculis*, observes, that the Oracular temples were usually situated in mountainous places, which abounded with caverns fitted for frauds. That the oracles were delivered only at stated times. That at Delphi, the priestess had priests, prophets, and poets, to take down, and explain, and mend her gibberish; which served to justify Apollo from the imputation of making bad verses, for if they were defective, the fault was laid upon the amanuensis: That the consulters sometimes wrote their requests, and received answers in writing: That the priests had the art of opening letters, and closing them again without breaking the seal: That the *adyta*, whence the oracles were delivered, were shaded with branches, and clouded with incense, to help the fraud: That in the temples sweet smells were suddenly diffused, to shew that the god was in good humour: That there are drugs, herbs, and fumigations which will make a man foam at the mouth, and be delirious, and that the priestess might use such methods: That it might also sometimes be grimace and artifice: That the god sometimes gave answers himself, by a voice, or by the motion of his statue, &c. This is what I had to offer concerning divination, and prophecy in general, the Sibylline oracles excepted, which shall be examined apart.

The prophecies relating to our Saviour, and to Christianity, have some of them a mixture of obscurity, and the interpretations which have been given of them are various: but this ought to be matter neither of wonder

der, nor of offence, because in the nature of things it cannot be otherwise.

It were indeed to be wondered, if obscurity should not lie upon some of the prophecies, the latest whereof was written at the distance of above two thousand years ago.

Prophetic writings, besides what is common to them with other writings, to grow dark with age, have something peculiar in their nature to render them less intelligible. Prophecies, remote from the time of their accomplishment, and whose completion depends on the concurrence of free agents, are not wont to be delivered very distinctly at first. The obscurity becomes greater, from the language wherein they are written. The Hebrew, as other Eastern languages, is entirely different from the European. Many things are there left to be supplied by the quickness of the reader's apprehension, which are with us expressed by proper words and repetitions. Particles disjunctive and adversative, significative marks of connexion and of transition from one subject to another are often omitted here. Dialogues are carried on, objections answered, comparisons made, without notice in the discourse; and through frequent change of persons, tenses, and numbers, we are left to guess who are the persons spoken of, which gave no difficulty to them whose living language it was.

The prophetic style is of all other the most copious this way. It seems to be a sort of language by itself. It ties itself to no order or method, but passes from one subject to another insensibly, and suddenly resumes it again, and often sallies out to the main thing that was intended in the prophet's thoughts. The prophets used to act part of what they were to foretell: those actions supplying the place of words, and being not expressed in the writing, a sort of chasm is sometimes to be discerned in them; as at other times, different discourses, or addresses, distinguishable in the
H 3
speaking,

speaking, by proper signs and motions, seem now to be connected, though they have no relation to each other.—

What increases the difficulty, is the little or no order that the collectors have placed the prophecies in, according to the usage of the ancients, who joined together writings upon different occasions, of the same authors, and sometimes of different authors, as if they made but one continued discourse.—

The mistake might have been in some measure prevented, had the books written by the Jews, after their return from the Babylonian captivity, remained to our days—But these helps fail us, and not one book writ in the Hebrew tongue, since prophecy ceased, hath escaped the general calamity that hath befallen the Jewish writings. Bp. Chandler *Introd. to Defense of Christian*.

Oratio Jesaïæ sic est constructa, ut de illius arte, elegantia, ἐνεργεία, pondere, nihil tam magnificum cogitari ac dici possit, quin sit infra ejus meritum.—Sed id ipsum est, quod interpretem multis in locis impedit, ejusque, studiosi etiam et bonis subsidii instructi, diligentiam ac judicium valde exercet. Imo vero censeo, nullius mortalis, licet in Hebræis literis docte versati, tantum esse acumen, peritiam, perspicaciam, ut Prophetæ nostro longe pluribus locis reddere potuerit genuinum suum sensum, nisi Lectio antiqua Synagogica per traditionem in Scholis Hebræorum fuisset conservata, ut eam nunc Masoretharum punctulis expressam habemus. Vitringa, Præfat. ad Jesaïam.

Il y a dans les Prophetes beaucoup de mots trèsobscurs, qui pouvoient être clairs autrefois, que la langue Hebraïque étoit florissante. Il y a encore plus de passages, où la construction et la liaison du discours ne sont pas faciles à développer, et où l'on ne voit pas bien ce que les Prophetes ont voulu dire. Les allusions fréquentes à des choses, qui nous sont inconnues, soit à l'égard des Juifs, soit à l'égard

à l'égard de la plûpart des peuples voisins, dont il ne nous reste aucuns monumens, ne servent pas peu à embarrasser les interpretes. Le Clerc, *Bibl. Chois.* xxvii. 381:

Nos sane suas elegantias esse Hebræorum Lingue, quemadmodum ceteris omnibus, non negamus; sed cum cultis et copiosis Linguis conferendam esse non putamus. Monendus tamen est Lector eam a nobis spectari, non qualis olim dum florebat fortasse fuit, sed qualis superest in Libris Sacris, quibus omnes ejus reliquie continentur. Multo quidem plura vocabula, pluresque phrases in usu fuisse, quam quæ in modico volumine leguntur, non ægre fatemur. Sed quoad potest ex ejus reliquiis judicium ferri, inopem eam, ambiguum, et parum cultam fuisse existimamus, quod jam ostendere aggrediemur.

Linguarum omnium laudes in tribus potissimum rebus sitæ sunt, in copia vocabulorum et phrasium, in perspicuitate orationis, ejusque elegantia, cujus a Rhetoribus Canones describuntur; quibus rebus multo Hebræicæ superiores sunt multæ Lingue, et Græca quidem præ ceteris; nec quasi pulcherrimam jactari Hebræicam posse, manifestum est, &c. &c. Le Clerc, Proleg. ad V. T. Dis. i.

Such are the difficulties which attend the interpretation of the prophecies, and which I chose to represent in the words of competent judges. And yet that Jesus was the Messiah foretold by the prophets appears thus: The prophets speak of a new and second covenant, which God would make with his people: They mention, not once or twice, but very often, the conversion of the Gentiles from superstition and idolatry to the worship of the true God: They speak of four successive empires, the last of which was the Roman empire, and under this last empire they say that a new and everlasting kingdom should be established by one to whom God should give absolute

power and dominion. A great person was to come, who should be Immanuel, or, God with us, the Son of God, and the Son of Man, of the seed of Abraham, of Isaac, and of David; born of a virgin, poor and obscure, and yet one whom David calls his Lord; the Lord to whom the temple belonged, the mighty God, a great king, an everlasting priest, though not of the tribe of Levi; born at Bethlehem, a prophet like unto Moses, but greater than Moses; a prophet who should preach to the poor and meek, and proclaim liberty to the captives, and comfort the mourners, and heal the broken hearted; who should proclaim his gospel first and principally in the land of Zebulon and Naphthali, in Galilee of the Gentiles; who should have a forerunner in the spirit of Elias, crying in the wilderness, Prepare ye the way of the Lord; who should instruct in a mild and peaceable manner, without wrath and contention, before the destruction of the temple, in which temple he should be seen and heard; who should enter into Jerusalem meek and humble, and riding on an ass; who should work miracles more than Moses and all the prophets, and miracles of the merciful and beneficent kind, open the eyes of the blind, and the ears of the deaf, and make the dumb to praise God, and the lame to leap like an hart; who, notwithstanding all his power and goodness, should be rejected by the greater part of the nation, to whom he should be a stumbling-block, who should be despised and afflicted, a man of sorrow, and cut off from the land of the living; who should have enemies numerous, powerful, crafty, and wicked, who should be accused by false witnesses, betrayed by an intimate and particular friend, sold for thirty pieces of silver, and the money given for a potter's field, when

when it had been flung away by the traitor who should not live long after his crime, and whose office should be filled up by another ; that his enemies should use him contumeliously, buffet him, and spit upon him, whilst he should be led like a lamb to the slaughter, not opening his mouth, and uttering nothing, except intercessions for the transgressors ; that his enemies should strip him of his raiment, divide it amongst themselves, and cast lots upon it, surround him, pierce his hands and his feet, mock him, and shake their heads at him, give him gall to eat, and vinegar to drink ; that he should be reduced to so weak and languishing a condition that his bones might all be counted, his heart should melt within him, and his tongue cleave to the roof of his mouth ; that he should be brought to the dust of death, that he should be pierced, and yet not one of his bones be broken ; that he should be laid in the sepulchre of a rich and honourable man, none of his enemies hindering it ; that he should rise again before he had seen corruption, and subdue his enemies, and ascend into heaven, and sit at God's right hand, and be crowned with honour and glory, and see his seed and prosper, and justify many, and be adored by kings and princes ; that then Jerusalem should be made desolate, and the Jews dispersed in all lands, and the Gentiles should be converted and flow into the church. These things were said concerning some person ; and they are all applicable to Christ.

God foretold by his prophets in a clear and exact manner many great changes and revolutions, many things relating to the fates and fortunes of the Jews, and of the neighbouring nations with whom they were concerned. The only possible objection which can be made to these predictions, is that perhaps they were
written

written after the event. I shall therefore mention a few, out of several, which cannot be suspected of such a forgery.

Ezekiel * thus prophecies concerning Egypt. *Egypt shall be the basest of the kingdoms, neither shall it exalt itself any more above the nations : for I will diminish them, that they shall no more rule over the nations, xxix. 15.*

Egypt was attacked and oppressed by the Persians, by Cambyses, by Xerxes, by Darius Nothus, and conquered by Ochus three hundred and fifty years before Christ ; and from that time to this day, the Egyptians never had an Egyptian king, but have been under the government of the Persians, Macedonians, Romans, Saracens, and Turks. Eusebius was mistaken in dating the subjection of Egypt to a foreign power from the victory of Augustus at Actium, and the death of Antony and Cleopatra. *Dem. Evang. vi. p. 299.*

Concerning Babylon it was foretold ; *The wild beasts of the desert—shall dwell there, and the owls shall dwell therein : and it shall be no more inhabited for ever ; neither shall it be dwelt in from generation to generation. As God overthrew Sodom and Gomorrah, and the neighbour cities thereof—so no man shall dwell there, neither shall any son of man dwell therein.—They shall not take of thee a stone for a corner, nor a stone for foundations ; but thou shalt be desolate for ever, saith the Lord.—Babylon shall become heaps, a dwelling place for dragons, an astonishment and an hissing, without an inhabitant.—When thou hast made an end of reading this book, thou shalt bind a stone to it, and cast it into the midst of Euphrates. And thou shalt say, Thus shall Babylon sink, and shall not rise from the evil that I will bring upon her.*
—*Babylon*

* Isaiah prophesied more than 700, Jeremiah more than 600, and Ezekiel almost 600 years before Christ.

—*Babylon the glory of kingdoms—shall be as when God overthrew Sodom and Gomorrah. It shall never be inhabited, neither shall it be dwelt in from generation to generation: neither shall the Arabian pitch tent there, neither shall the shepherds make their fold there: But wild beasts of the desert shall lie there, and their houses shall be full of doleful creatures, and owls shall dwell there, and dragons in their pleasant places.* Jer. l. 39. li. 26. 37. 64. Isai. xiii. 19.

Seleucus built Seleucia, before Christ 293, which completed the ruin and desolation of Babylon, a desolation that continues to this day. *Prideaux* Connect. P. I. B. viii. p. 446. fol. ed. and *Vitringa* on Isa. xiii.

Concerning Tyre it was prophesied; *I will make thee like the top of a rock: thou shalt be a place to spread nets upon; thou shalt be built no more;—thou shalt be a terror, and never shalt be any more.* Ezek. xxvi. 14. 21. xxvii. 36. xxviii. 19.

Old Tyre and new Tyre are no more, and only exist in history. *Tyrus insularis—tandem pervenit ad eum statum, quo hodie deprehenditur, ut in ipsa Tyro quoque Itinerator Tyrum quærat et non agnoscat: perinde ut res se habuit cum Babylone. Qui articuli innuntiationis Tyri, et varia ejus fata a me ex Historia demonstrari possent, si vere cum Marshamo aliisque mihi non persuaderem, vaticinium hoc Ezechielis intelligendum esse de Tyro vetere, urbe olim multo majore et potentiore, quam fuit Tyrus nova insularis, licet ea ipsi accensita fuerit; quæ Tyrus insularis post hoc tempus sola culta est, et gloriam Tyri veteris sustinuit:—dum altera pars ejus, hoc est, Tyrus vetus, plane subverteretur, nunquam reædificanda, ab Alexandro dein plane diruta, qui rudерibus lapidibusque ejus usus est in Tyro insulari opugnanda; ut adeo hodieque ejus Palætyri nihil amplius supersit,*

supersit, nec locus nisi ad signa veterum Geographorum, eaque non satis certa, demonstrari possit. Vitringa ad Isai. xxiii. p. 703. See also Prideaux Connect.

The city of Tyre, standing in the sea upon a peninsula, promises at a distance something very magnificent. But when you come to it, you find no similitude of that glory for which it was so renowned in ancient times. On the north side it has an old Turkish ungarrisoned castle; besides which you see nothing here, but a mere Babel of broken walls, pillars, vaults, &c. there being not so much as one entire house left. Its present inhabitants are only a few poor wretches, harbouring themselves in the vaults, and subsisting chiefly upon fishing; who seem to be preserved in this place by Divine Providence, as a visible argument how God has fulfilled his word concerning Tyre, that it should be as the top of a rock, a place for fishers to dry their nets on. Maundrel's Journey, p. 48.

In Genesis xvi. the angel said to Hagar—*Thou shalt bear a son, and shalt call his name Ishmael;—And he will be a wild man; [as savage as a wild ass] his hand will be against every man, and every man's hand against him: and he shall dwell in the presence of all his brethren.*

Ishmael was the father of the Arabs, who are, and ever have been, such as Ishmael is here described, robbers, free-booters, and independent vagabonds.

In the same book, ch. xxvii. Isaac says to his son Esau, *by thy sword shalt thou live.* Esau was the father of the Idumæans, who were always a warlike people, ravaging their neighbours, and of a restless disposition. Such they were in the days of Josephus, who gives them this character: *Θερύωδες ἢ ἀτακτοὶ ἔθνος, αἰετὶ μετώρον πρὸς τὰ κινήματα, ἢ μεταβολαῖς χαῖρον, πρὸς ὀλίγην δὲ κολακείαν τῶν δεομένων, τὰ ὅπλα κινῶν, ἢ καθάπερ εἰς ἐσθλὴν, εἰς τὰς παραλαῖξας ἐπιεγόμενον.* *Turbarum avida, et incondita gens,*

gens, semperque ad motus suspensa, mutationibus gaudens, minimis potentium blanditiis arma movens, et in praelia festinans, quasi ad festum. B. J. iv. 4.

The most extraordinary person who ever appeared amongst the Jews was Christ, who without human means, and with a few poor disciples, brought about a greater change, and accomplished a greater undertaking, than any Jew ever conceived and attempted. If he was the Messias, it is reasonable to suppose that the prophets, who so accurately and undeniably foretold the things relating to Babylon, Tyre, &c. would give some indications of this sacred person, which was of more importance to the Jews and to mankind; and consequently it is reasonable to think that we rightly understand in general the prophecies which are applied to him. If he falsely assumed the character which he took, yet, since he had the art and the success to make many of the Jews, and a great part of the Gentile world believe in him, it was to be expected that some caution would have been given in the prophetic writings to the Jews, that they might not be misled by him, nor expect any prophet after Malachi.

Passages in the Old Testament which have been applied to him, are of four sorts.

I. Accommodations :

II. Direct prophecies :

III. Types :

IV. Prophecies of double senses.

I. Accommodations are passages of the Old Testament, which are adapted by the writers of the New, to something that happened in their time, because of some correspondence and similitude. These are no prophecies, though they be said sometimes to be *fulfilled*; for any thing may be said to be *fulfilled*, when it

it can be pertinently applied. For example, St Matthew says, *All these things spake Jesus unto the multitude in parables, that it might be fulfilled which was spoken by the prophet, saying, I will open my mouth in parables, I will utter things which have been kept secret from the foundation of the world.* The meaning is apparently no more than this, that what the Psalmist said of his way of teaching, might justly be said of those discourses of Christ.

Thus the apostles frequently allude to the sacred books; and thus Pagan writers often cite passages from their old poets, to describe things* of which those poets never thought; and this is no fault, but rather a beauty in writing; and a passage applied justly, and in a new sense, is ever pleasing to an ingenious reader, who loves to be agreeably surprised, and to see a likeness and pertinency where he expected none. He has that surprise which the Latin poet so poetically gives to the tree;

Miraturque novas frondes et non sua poma.

II. Direct prophecies are those which relate to Christ and the gospel, and to them alone, and which cannot be taken in any other sense. Upon these we ought principally to insist, when we would prove the truth of our religion from the predictions of the Old Testament; and of these there is a considerable number. Such are those which mention the calling of the Gentiles, the everlasting kingdom of the Son of man, to be erected during the time of the Roman empire, and the second covenant. Such is the cxth Psalm; *The Lord said unto my Lord, Sit thou at my right hand, until I make*

* Diogenes the Cynic was remarkable for this sort of wit, and many of his applications, or parodies of Homer are very happy and ingenious.

make thy enemies thy footstool, &c. This is as plain as a prophetic description ought to be ; it is applicable to Christ alone, and it sets forth his exaltation, his royal dignity, his priestly office, the propagation of his gospel, the obedience of his subjects, the destruction of his enemies, and of the Roman emperors, who persecuted his church. But of this prophecy something more shall be said, when we come to the reign of Constantine.

III. A type is a rough draught, a less accurate pattern or model, from which a more perfect image or work is made. Types, or typical prophecies, are things which happened and were done in ancient time, and are recorded in the Old Testament, and which are found afterwards to describe or represent something which befel our Lord, and which relates to him and to his gospel. For example : Under the law, a lamb was offered for a sin-offering, and thus an atonement was made for transgressions. John the Baptist calls Christ *the Lamb of God who taketh away the sins of the world*, and St Peter tells Christians that they are redeemed *by the blood of Christ as of a lamb*. Hence we infer and conclude that the lamb was a type of Christ ; and upon considering it, we find that it has all that can be required to constitute a type ; for it is in many respects a very just and lively representation of Christ. The lamb died for no offence of his own, but for the sins of others ; so did Christ : the lamb could not commit sin by his nature, nor Christ by his perfection : the lamb was without bodily spot or blemish ; Christ was holy and undefiled : a lamb is meek and patient ; such was the afflicted and much injured Son of God.

These types are useful to persons who have already received Christianity upon other, and stronger evidence,

dence, as they shew the beautiful harmony and correspondence between the Old and New Testament; but they seem not proper proofs to satisfy and convince doubters, who will say perhaps with the schoolmen, *Theologia symbolica non est argumentativa*.

Unless we have the authority of the scriptures of the New Testament for it, we cannot conclude with certainty that this or that person, or this or that thing mentioned in the Old Testament is a type of Christ, on account of the resemblance which we may perceive between them: but we may admit it as probable.

*Joseph was a Nazarene, as the word may denote a separate person. And though he were not under a Nazarite's vow, yet as he was separate from his brethren, he is called Nazir *, a Nazarite, in the more general and lax signification of the word. And there is a very singular correspondence between him and Jesus. Joseph was the beloved son of his father; and so is Jesus too. But as he was hated by his brethren, so Jesus came to his own, and his own received him not. If the sun, moon, and stars did, in a figure, obeisance to Joseph; they did it to Jesus without a trope. Come, let us kill him, was the language of the brethren, both of Joseph and of Jesus.— They were both sold for pieces of money; both became servants. The bloody coat of Joseph answers to the blood of Jesus. They were both forced down into Egypt; both were numbered with transgressors. Joseph is imprisoned with Pharaoh's butler and baker, one of them is saved, the other destroyed: Jesus suffers with two thieves, and one of them is saved also. Joseph sold corn, and saves his people; so does Jesus, the multiplier of loaves, and the Bread of Life. If Joseph exhort his brethren to peace, so did Jesus. If they bowed the knee to Joseph,*

* Gen. xlix. 26,

seph, every knee must bow to *Jesus*. If *Joseph* were highly exalted upon his sufferings, so was *Jesus*. They were both men of sorrow, both fruitful branches, both lifted up from a low and sorrowful condition.

Sampson was a *Nazarite*, in the strictest sense, and a perpetual one, and a type of the *Messias* too, as the *Jews* intimate in their two *Targums* upon *Gen. xlix. 18*. A very fit type he was of *Jesus Christ*. He was so in his very birth: he was the son of a barren woman; *Jesus* of a virgin. The tidings of the birth of *Sampson* were brought to his mother by an angel; as was that of the birth of *Jesus*. He shall be a *Nazarite*, says the angel of *Sampson*; and of *Jesus* it is said, that he dwelt in *Nazareth*, that it might be fulfilled which was said by the prophets, He shall be called a *Nazarene*. Of *Sampson* the angel foretells that he should deliver *Israel*; and the angel tells of *Jesus*, that he should save his people. An angel was sent to satisfy both *Manoah* and *Joseph*. If the Spirit of God be said to move *Sampson*; that Spirit descended upon *Jesus*, and led him into the wilderness. If *Sampson* marries a *Philistine* woman, *Jesus* espoused the *Gentiles*. *Sampson* killed the lion, destroyed the *Philistines*, removed the gates of the city, and at his death gave the greatest blow to his enemies: but it is *Jesus Christ* that overcame the devil, and the world, and got the conquest of death and hell, that destroyed the devil by his death, and that raised himself up from death to life. *Kidder's Demonst. of the Messias*, ch. iii.

IV. There are prophecies of double senses, which admit no more than two senses, which are nearly of the same kind with typical prophecies, and many of which might perhaps be cleared up by observing that the prophet meant one thing, and the Spirit of God, who spake by him, meant another thing; for the Ho-

ly Spirit so over-ruled the prophets, as to make them use words which strictly and rigidly interpreted could not mean what themselves intended.

Somewhat of this kind is the prophecy of the high priest Caiaphas; for the Spirit of God has sometimes spoken by bad men. When the chief priests and Pharisees consulted what they should do with Jesus, the high priest said, *Ye know nothing at all, nor consider that it is expedient for us that one man should die for the people, and that the whole nation perish not.* His meaning was plainly this, that it mattered not whether Christ were guilty or innocent, because the public safety absolutely required his death. *And this spake he,* says St John, *not of himself; but, being high priest that year, he prophesied that Jesus should die for that nation,* that is, be a sacrifice and atonement for their sins. He prophesied then, and knew it not; for he had himself another intent and meaning.

As Daniel, xii. 8, 9. says, that he knew not the meaning of the prediction which he delivered, so the Gentiles, if we may be permitted to introduce them upon this occasion, have remarked concerning their prophets, that they knew not the import of their own prophecies, or rather, that they were merely passive, and knew not even that they were speaking. λέγουσι μὲν πολλὰ καὶ καλὰ, ἴσασι δὲ ὅδεν ὧν λέγουσι, says Socrates, in Plato's *Apol.* and in *Menon.* p. 99. *Ed. Steph.* The Sibyl also says, or is made to say, concerning herself, L. ii.

—οὔτε δ' οἶδα

Ὅτι λέγω, κέλεται δὲ Θεός [με] ἕκαστ' ἀγορεύειν.

Which is very like the words cited from Plato, Tacitus, *Annal.* ii. 54. *Tunc [sacerdos] haustâ fontis arcani aquâ, ignarus plerumque literarum et carminum, edit responsa versibus, &c.*

When

When the prophets of God spake in his name, they talked and acted like men who knew that they were prophesying. In some of the Pagan oracles, the god is supposed to use the organs of the man, and the man is supposed to know nothing of the discourse. This appears to have been the case of some dæmoniacks in the New Testament, in whom the evil spirit was the speaker. The Pagan prophets therefore either were, or pretended to be out of their senses ; and by this argument some sly or credulous people imposed upon Justin Martyr, (if he wrote the *Cohortatio*) and made an excuse for the nonsense and the faults against metre in the Sibylline oracles. The Sibyl, said they, uttered verses when she was inspired ; when the inspiration ceased, she remembered nothing that she had said. They who attended her and wrote down her prophecies, being often unskilful and illiterate people, made frequent mistakes, and gave us lame verses and false quantities. *Cohort. ad Græc.* 38. See what is said above, p. 12. See also Smith *on prophecy*, who has collected passages from Plato and others, to shew that the Pagan prophets were in a sort of phrenzy and *delirium*, *ch.* iv.

This is the very same excuse which the Pagans made for the bad style and other defects of their oracles. Van Dale *De Orac.* p. 162.

Since no prophecy of the scripture is of any private interpretation, that is, the meaning of prophecies is not what perhaps the prophet himself might imagine in his private judgment of the state of things then present, but holy men spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost ; there may therefore very possibly, and very reasonably be supposed to be many prophecies, which, though they may have a prior and immediate reference to some

nearer event, yet by the Spirit of God (whom those prophecies which are express, shew to have had a farther view) may have been directed to be uttered in such words as may even more properly and more justly be applied to the great event which providence had in view, than to the intermediate event which God designed only as a pledge or earnest of the other, &c. Clarke's Evid. of Nat. and Rev. Rel.

Of omens, to which Pagan superstition paid great regard from the time of Homer, there were several, where the words of the omen had one sense, and the event, as they say, verified it in another sense. Here is a remarkable instance: *Cæcilia Metelli, dum sororis filice, adultæ cetatis virgini, more prisco, nocte concubia, nuptialia petit, omen ipsa fecit. Nam cum in sacello quodam, ejus rei gratia, aliquamdiu persedisset, nec ulla vox proposito congruens esset audita; fessa longa standi mora puella rogavit materteram, ut sibi paulisper locum residendi accommodaret; cui illa, Ego vero, inquit, tibi mea sede cedo. Quod dictum ab indulgentia profectum, ad certi ominis processit eventum: quoniam Metellus non ita multo post, mortua Cæcilia, virginem de qua loquor, in matrimonium duxit.* Val. Maximus, i. v. 4. The same story is related by Cicero, *de Divin.* i. 46. Plutarch, in the life of Alexander, says: βουλόμενος δὲ τῷ Θεῷ χρήσασθαι περὶ τῆς στρατείας, ἦλθεν εἰς Δελφούς· καὶ κατὰ τύχην ἡμερῶν ἀποφραδῶν ὕσων. ἐν αἷς ἡ νερόμισαι δεμισεύειν, πρῶτοι μὲν ἐπεμπεν παρακαλῶν τὴν πρόμαντιν· ὡς δὲ ἀρρομένης καὶ προῤῃχομένης τὸν νόμον, αὐτὸς ἀναβάς βίᾳ πρὸς τὸν ναὸν εἴλκεν αὐτήν. ἡ δὲ, ὥσπερ ἐξητήρημίη τῆς σπουδῆς, εἶπεν, Ἀνίκηλος εἶ, ὦ παῖ. τοῦτο αἰκούσας Ἀλέξανδρος, ὅκ' ἔτι ἔφη χρῆζειν ἑτέρῳ μαντεύματι, ἀλλὰ ἔχων ὃν ἐβύλετο παρ' αὐτῆς χρησμόν. *Delphos ad Deum de bello consulendum profectus, quod forte dies nefasti essent, quibus non erat solenne oracula edere, primo misit certos, qui*
ratem

ratem orarent ut veniret. Recusante illa, et legem causante, ascendit ipse, et vi traxit eam ad templum. Quæ illius contentione expugnata ait, Invictus es, fili. Id audiens Alexander, negavit se alias sortes quærere, sed jam habere quod petierat ab ea oraculum.

If the words of Caiaphas will admit two senses, it follows not that they will admit ten, or as many as the teeming imagination of a fanatic can suggest ; and prophecies of double senses, if such prophecies there be, may have meanings as determinate and fixed, as if they had only one sense. The same is true of allegorical writings. Horace *Carm. I. xiv.* says,

O navis, referent in mare te novi, &c.

The commentators on this poem are divided ; one part contend for the literal sense, and the other for the allegorical : but the ode has a double sense. The poet addresses himself to a real ship, and yet intended, under that image or emblem, to dissuade the Romans from exposing themselves again to a civil war. This will remove some difficulties raised by writers on both sides of the question.

Mr Warburton made the same remark, and to him I resign it, as unto the first occupier, unless he will let me claim a part of it upon the privilege of friendship, and as *καὶ τὰ τῶν φίλων*. Indeed the interpretation is so unforced and obvious, that I wonder it came not into the mind of many persons.

Moses said of the paschal lamb, *Neither shall ye break a bone thereof*. St John says that this was fulfilled in Christ ; whence it has been not unreasonably inferred, that those words had, with the most obvious sense, a prophetical, that is, a double sense.

David seems to speak concerning himself when he says, *Thou shalt not leave my soul in hell, nor suffer thy*

holy One to see corruption. He intended perhaps no more than this, Thou shalt not suffer me to come to an untimely end, to be killed by mine enemies and cast into the grave: but then the divine impulse which was upon him, made him use words which should suit exactly to Christ, and to himself only in a loose and figurative sense. Of this the prophet himself might be sensible, and might know that his words had another import, and that they should be fulfilled twice, both in the sense which he intended, and in the sublimer sense of the Holy Spirit. By these means a shade was cast over the prophecy, and the sense of the Spirit was concealed till the event unfolded it, and made it conspicuous; which obscurity seems to have been sometimes necessary, that the persons concerned in bringing about the accomplishment might not know what was predicted concerning them and their actions*.

In *Deuteronomy*, xviii. 18, 19. it is said; *I will raise them up a prophet from among their brethren, like unto thee; and I will put my words in his mouth, and he shall speak unto them all that I shall command him. And it shall come to pass, that whosoever will not hearken unto my words which he shall speak in my name, I will require it of him.* And ver. 15. *The Lord thy God will raise up unto thee a prophet in the midst of thee, of thy brethren, like unto me; unto him ye shall hearken.*

1. The intention of Moses seems to have been to administer

* It is proper that men should be treated as free agents: and men are free; at least they think so, and few of them will give up this persuasion, and suffer themselves to be quibbled out of their senses and experience. Truth and general utility will be found always to coincide, and one would be glad to know what useful purposes can be served from the doctrine of fatalism. The fatalist will say; It will make a man humble. It is as likely to make him a mathematician, or a poet.